

POSTMASTER

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TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulations" of 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.

Bir Zeit University Ordered Half-Closed

Israeli military authorities in the West Bank ordered the closure of Bir Zeit University's old campus for three months, February 2. The closure order will affect an estimated 1400 students in the departments of arts, commerce and economics.

The closure order, the first in the present scholastic year, was ordered after campus demonstrations, January 31, to protest the killing of a Nabulsi youth few days earlier.

The Ramallah military governor summoned Gabi Baramki, acting-President of BZU, to the military compound on Thursday evening around 7:00 pm and handed him the closure order. The authorities charged in the order that Bir Zeit University has been a hotbed for protest and "inciting" activities and that university administration are responsible for such activities. Even though the measure does not prohibit the university administration from using the new

campus, major administrative problems have been caused by it. Aside from containing two major colleges, which make up two-thirds of the student body, all administrative offices are on the old campus. All food for university cafeterias is prepared on the old campus. The telephone exchange is located there, as are several departmental offices. A BZU teacher predicted "major disruption."

The new campus, some

three kilometres east of the old one, is still under construction. Only one building is complete and is being used for the college of science. Students of the two closed colleges are expected to be transferred to the science college, where severe overcrowding is expected, especially during the exam period.

Dr. Baramki, who spoke to Israel Radio after the closure, said that the measure would affect classes, especially since exams are nearing. Baramki also

said that the authorities' pretext was unjustified since the protest was a common act which was confined to the campus.

In an official statement, BZU said the closure was a form of collective punishment and "unjust." They said that if the military had not interfered with the student protest, "no problems" would have occurred.

They opined that the loss of the university's "nerve centre" is designed to minimise interna-

tional reaction while maximising pressure and problems for the university. The statement described the atmosphere in Bir Zeit itself, where military patrols continue, as "grim."

BZU has been closed eight times since 1967, the statement said. In academic year 1981-82 the university was closed for seven months.

The Swiss 'Friends of Bir Zeit' issued a statement, February 6, condemning the closure. "We learn with indignation of the recent closure of the old Bir Zeit campus. By this act the Israeli military occupying forces violate once again the elementary right of the Palestinian people to express their opinion. It is also a flagrant violation of the Human Rights Charter which provides for the freedom of education. We firmly condemn this arbitrary act and express our solidarity with the Palestinian people and particularly with the students of Bir Zeit," the Geneva-based group said.



Israeli bulldozers plow through Obediah farmland, February 6, to prepare for road construction. Villagers attempted to prevent the work but were stopped by border guards/ AO photo

Bethlehem Child Dies in Grenade Blast

A five-year-old Bethlehem child, Nisreen Ahmad Shrouf, was killed and her two brothers and two sisters were injured, February 6, when a hand grenade the children apparently found near their house exploded in their hands.

All the children were taken to Beit Jala Hussein Hospital for treatment. Nisreen died of her wounds in hospital. Ibrahim, 4, was transferred to Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem with serious injuries. The other children, Majdi, 3, Najwa, 6, and Lubna, 10, are reported in fair condition.

The Israeli military spokesman who confirmed the casualties said that first reports indicated the children had found "an old Italian-made hand grenade" in a nearby field and had brought it home and played with it. A Bethlehem source disputes this account. He pointed out to Al Fajr that two other grenades were found and safely detonated by Israeli police last month in the Safa Street area near the Shrouf family home during the recent wave of Terror Against Terror anti-Palestinian bombings in the West Bank.

Villagers Fail in Bid to Stop Road

Villagers in Obediah, near Bethlehem, failed, February 6, to prevent Israeli workers, backed by border guards, from starting work on a road over their land. Landowners say that they were not informed about the authorities' plans to build the road which goes through their farmlands, for which they have ownership documents, in violation of local ordinances and regulations.

Large numbers of villagers briefly stopped the bulldozers by standing in front of them,

according to eyewitnesses. Israeli border guards requested reinforcements and when the Bethlehem military governor, accompanied by seven truck-loads of troops arrived, work started.

The planned 2.5-kilometre-wide road is expected to connect the settlement of Ammon Hanatziv with other south Jerusalem settlements. Two years ago, about 60,000 dunums of Obediah land extending from the village to the Dead Sea were confiscated. Landowners contin-

ued to farm it, however.

According to a report in Al Ittihad, four Palestinian women were injured in clashes with the border guards who were protecting the bulldozer.

Israeli military sources denied the report of the clashes and said that the Bethlehem military governor explained to the residents that they should "protest in the legal channels and that he is merely carrying out orders." (Translation: Al Fajr, Al Ittihad, February 7, 1984).

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Forces of Insurrection Shake Gemayel Regime

by Livia Rokach

February 6 — As of February 5, at 2:30 pm, the "legitimate central authority" of Lebanon, as represented by Amin Gemayel's government, exists no more. As of February 6, West Beirut held by thousands of resisters, combatants who have chased away the Lebanese army. As we write, on Monday afternoon, fierce battles are going on at key points in Corniche Mazra'a, Barbir and the museum, where the guerrilla groups, who until last night were under strict orders to remain clandestine, are assaulting the army barracks in broad daylight. The battles with pockets of remaining military units continue while the entire Lebanese capital, east and west, are subjected since this morning to heavy artillery barrages, the intensity of which reminds Beirutis of June-August 1982. A 24-hour curfew decreed by the army is ignored by the fighters, while the radio stations, in particular the *Voice of the Mountain*, inaugurated by the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP) last week and not subjected to censorship because they are located in the resistance-controlled Shouf region, constantly broadcast the appeal by Lebanese National Salvation Front (LNSF) President Walid Jumblatt and Amal leader Nabih Berri to boycott all negotiations attempted by Amin Gemayel for the constitution of a new government. Statements by both leaders, in the name of the vast resistance front, rejected all compromise or negotiation with the president of Ba'abda palace and with the Phalangist-dominated "Lebanese Forces" and called for the immediate and unconditional resignation of Amin Gemayel.

'Guerrillas Everywhere'

As entire Beirut is rocked by the crashing of shells, the echoes of battles and repeated sound barrier explosions caused by the constant Israeli overflights, excited Beirutis exchange telephone information on the presence of the guerrillas: "They are in the streets, they are on the roofs, they are everywhere," is a frequent exclamation by the surprised population. According to the *Voice of the Mountain*, moreover, 6000 military have already responded to Nabih Berri's call to desert the army and in several barracks there are violent fights between soldiers from opposing trends for control of the bases. All passages between East and West Beirut were hemetically closed this morning while armed Phalangist militias have reappeared in the streets of East Beirut. The airport is closed and all flights directed to Beirut now stop in Cyprus. This morning, a ship crashed into Shatila camp and wounded eight Italian soldiers.

Gemayel's government dissolved yesterday within hours of a call by Amal leader Nabih Berri for the resignation of all "Muslim and nationalist ministers" and following a dramatic

week in which events rapidly developed into a vast-scale, combined military and political confrontation between the Lebanese patriotic forces and the Phalangist-dominated regime. The greater part of Lebanon's territory and all its political forces, social strata and ideological trends quickly became involved, on one side or the other, in this resumed flare-up of the civil war, which in a few days has reduced to a shambles the entire US strategy based at first on Israel's invasion, then on attempts to set up an Israeli-controlled, Phalangist-directed "new order." The backbone of this strategy, namely the American- and French-trained, armed and operationally-guided Lebanese army, has clearly demonstrated its intrinsic weakness and military incapacity when not directly supported and at least partially replaced by US navy and ground forces firepower. This development, accompanied by the political collapse of the regime, has in turn defeated in advance both alternative options set by Washington's policy-makers: a major military effort by US forces to further support the Gemayel regime, with the ultimate partition of Lebanon in mind, starting from the constitution of a "Christian mini-state" composed of greater Beirut and Mount Lebanon, or a US-sponsored military coup d'état in Beirut, which, deposing Amin, would set the stage for a Turkish-style "nationalist" general dictatorship over a "unified" Lebanon.

Feb. 1: Gemayel's Assault

The fighting, interrupted 10 days ago due to weather conditions, resumed on a large scale on Wednesday, February 1, when Gemayel's army began to move massive forces in tanks and armoured troop carriers towards the Shi'ite suburbs of south Beirut, while at the same time renewing its savage, indiscriminate shelling of Druze villages in the Shouf. The army's offensive was expected and its preparations very visible. Western military observers had no difficulty predicting that the army's plan, adopted on the basis — according to these sources — of Israeli suggestions, envisaged in the first place cutting the territorial links, established during the September round of the fighting, between Amal-controlled areas in the south of the capital and the resistance positions in the mountains. On January 31, LNSF leader Walid Jumblatt openly accused Amin Gemayel of preparing the offensive with a view to assaulting the resistance-controlled areas and warned that the "decisive battle" for the future of Lebanon was imminent. In press interviews and in a statement inaugurating the *Voice of the Mountain* radio station, Jumblatt demanded the immediate resignation of Amin Gemayel, whom he called "Amin Somoza," "The Shah of Ba'abda" or "The Sadat of Bikfayeh (the Gemayel clan's native village)," and repeated the demand for quick withdrawal of the US-led multinational forces from Beirut.

The next day, as a column of 40 Lebanese army tanks was moving towards Chiyah neighbourhood, a meeting of Christian dignitaries — from which the Greek Orthodox, the second biggest Christian community in Lebanon, were excluded — hurriedly convened in Bikirke to discuss with Phalangist militia commander Fadi Frem resolutions supporting the regime's tactics. On the same day, while Amin Gemayel appealed to the US Congress, through a

interruption, including bitter house-to-house, room-to-room and hand-to-hand fights with knives and swords concentrated around fortified positions in the St. Michael Church, in the Mar Michael area, at the eastern edge of Chiyah neighbourhood, adjacent to the Gallerie Sam'an and controlling the crucial junction between West Beirut and the mountain region. The three strategic positions in and around the gutted church have passed

estimated that at least 200 civilians were killed and wounded in south Beirut alone between Wednesday, February 1, and Saturday, February 4. But all estimates are considered very approximate due to the difficulty of reaching many of the victims who were buried under the ruins or burnt alive. Many of the wounded are in very serious condition, and, moreover, hampered from receiving adequate medical assistance due to the restricted facilities in the southern suburbs, lack of electricity and water and the shelling and sniping at ambulances attempting to move injured persons to clinics in central West Beirut. The Lebanese army defined its operations as "a mop-up of hostile dens."

In response, the resistance positions unleashed a barrage of artillery fire against the entire Phalangist-dominated territory, from Ba'abda to Junieh. At the same time, the resistance opened two new fronts, with the resumption of the PSP large-scale offensive in the Iqlim al-Kharub region to the south and the siege and massive shelling of Zahle, in the Syrian-controlled eastern sector, where important concentrations of Phalangist militias and regular troops are present.

A Strong Resistance

The opening of these fronts, where battles continue, the shelling of the Maronite-dominated areas and the progressive disintegration of the army — with the sixth brigade, now in the Beqa'a, the first to mutiny, another Beirut-based brigade following suit and several other units deserting over to resistance formations — helped to alleviate the pressure on south Beirut and made the conquest of the crucial strategic positions by Amal forces possible.

The military achievements having prepared the ground, on Saturday, LNSF and Amal launched a new phase of their political offensive, calling for the resignation of the government and posing as conditions for a ceasefire the end to Phalangist hegemony in the Lebanese state, the abrogation of the Israeli-Lebanese accord and complete neutralisation of the Lebanese army. Berri indicated the army bases of al-Kital (airport area), Abea (Beqa'a) and Hammana (Shouf) as assembly points for all the military in revolt. The government's resignation on Sunday and the subsequent statement of the army command that it will abstain from taking any new military initiative until a new government is constituted, responding to fire only if attacked, finally paved the way for a major achievement on the ground — the takeover by the resistance forces of the Khale-Beirut road and the consequent isolation of the Marines base at the airport.

It is at this point that the resistance forces present in West Beirut receive the order to begin the takeover of the capital and

ON GOVERNMENT LOAN TO PHALANGISTS

Lebanese Forces headquarters

First Bureau

No. 116/83

To the direction of the ministry of information
Sanaeh

We hereby inform you that Mr. Ghassan Assad Tahan who is an employee of your ministry is obliged to be absent from his job every Saturday for a period of three months starting today. This, in order for him to carry out military missions within the framework of the Lebanese Forces.

Therefore:

You are required to help him to accomplish his national duty by protecting his material and moral rights, as a part of your contribution to the service of the homeland.

Joseph Shaoul
Head of the First Bureau
Beirut 10.2.83

The above document is one of a series of letters sent over the past year — since the election to the presidency of Lebanon of Amin Gemayel — to ministries and other public institutions in Beirut by the First Bureau (personnel and mobilisation) of the headquarters of the Phalangist-dominated "Lebanese Forces," containing orders to free government and public employees for "duty service" in the rightist militias. The documents, which were captured recently by patriotic elements and released for publication by the Lebanese Progressive Socialist Party, constitute irrefutable proof of the fact that the Gemayel regime has transformed the government and all other public institutions into simple organs at the beck and call of the rightist militias, and of the kind of coordination existing between the state administration and the fascist "parallel army." In order to draw a parallel, one would have to imagine the Ku Klux Klan in the US sending similar letters to secretaries of state or senior officials in the Washington administration demanding that employees should be placed, on government time and at public expense, at the disposal of the KKK. This is the regime whose president pretends to "defend the free world" and whom American and other NATO forces are stationed in Lebanon to protect under the pretext, according to US President Ronald Reagan, of "fighting terrorism."

widely publicised interview in *The Washington Post*, to permit the maintenance of the American military force — "a moral support to the free world" — in Beirut, his father Pierre, president of the Phalangist Party, stated to the Lebanese press that "the government is obliged to take recourse to force, seeing that all other possibilities have ended in failure." But also on the same day, major conservative leaders of the big Sunni bourgeoisie of the capital — Sa'eb Salam, Rashid al-Solh and Salim al-Hoss — pledged in Damascus meetings with Syrian and Lebanese resistance leaders a commitment to take their distance from the regime and reject the latter's manoeuvres to create contrasts and divisions in the Muslim community in Lebanon.

All-Out Fighting

Fighting in Beirut reached a new record violence on Thursday, February 2. Battles lasting over five hours, almost without

hands at least three times before the resistance forces definitely re-established control of the entire area.

Heavy Civilian Toll

Throughout the battles, the Lebanese army heavy artillery, flanked by the Phalangist militias, constantly and deliberately shelled the densely populated civilian concentrations in Chiyah and all other popular south Beirut neighbourhoods, causing the destruction of scores of residential buildings. Hundreds of families were trapped under the ruins or in huge fires which could not be extinguished due to the lack of water in these slum areas and the impossibility for fire brigade units to approach the constantly bombed access roads. Nabih Berri officially accused the army of using phosphorus bombs in the shelling of the civilian quarters and demanded that the responsible commanders be court-martialled for war crimes. It is esti-

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Pre-trial Sealing of Jerusalem Homes

Israeli military authorities ordered the sealing of three rooms in residences in Thowri, a Jerusalem suburb, February 5. The homeowners' sons are charged, with five others from Hebron, with the killing of Aharon Gross, Kiryat Arba settler, in Hebron last July.

Ziad Omar Abu Sneh, Adnan Abu Sneh and Hani Abu Saba'at are currently held in the Mosabiyia detention centre in Jerusalem awaiting trial.

The room sealing was carried out after separate Israeli High Court interim orders prohibiting any change in the houses' conditions were removed following army claims the sealings are for "military purposes."

After the High Court green light, Israeli policemen and workers went to the houses and told the families to get furniture out of the rooms. Workers then closed the doors and windows of each room with cement blocks.

Omar Abu Sneh, father of Ziad, complained that the closure of one room in his house leaves him and the rest of the



Construction worker seals window as Israeli policeman watches in one of three Thowri homes. Sons of the homeowners are charged with killing a Kiryat Arba settler last July.

eight-member family living in a single room.

Felicia Langer, who represents two of the accused, said that the orders nisi to the Israeli High Court made the authorities seal one room in each house, rather than the entire house. She pointed out that the family homes of five other suspects in

the same case were either demolished or completely sealed. Langer is planning to petition the Israeli court in order to get the houses opened.

The three youths are accused of membership in an Islamic cell and with killing Aharon Gross and burning a Jerusalem store, restaurant and cinema.

Military Pledge Dheisheh Reopening

Israeli military officials recently intensified negotiations with Dheisheh camp residents regarding the reopening of closed Dheisheh roads.

The Bethlehem military governor and UNRWA's Hebron director of operations visited the Bethlehem area camp, February 2, and talked to local residents and merchants. The visit followed statements attributed to the Israeli prosecutor who said that Dheisheh's roads will be opened as soon as a bypass is finished.

officials visit the camp within two weeks and try to work out an "acceptable arrangement." Dheisheh residents were petitioning the court to prevent the destruction of houses along the main road. The bypass plan was revealed in the course of the case.

A source at Dheisheh camp told *Al Fajr* that if the authorities do not open the closed roads within a reasonable time, "we will return to the High Court and press our case."

At a hearing, January 24, the Israeli High Court recommended that a committee of Israeli military officials, Dheisheh residents, lawyers and UNRWA

All entrances to Dheisheh camp are presently blocked with concrete slabs making access for vehicles impossible.



Representatives of Jerusalem institutions meet at the Old City's Hospice Hospital to protest Israeli plans to close the hospital's surgery department/AO photo

Military Screens Potato Farmers

The Israeli occupation authorities are using political criteria to decide which Palestinian farmers will receive potato seedlings. West Bank cultivators charged this week.

Tulkarm farmers complained that officials in the West Bank military government have removed the names of 96 farmers and added 22 to a list of 800 farmers chosen by a select military committee to receive potato seedlings. Farmers are contemplating going to court on the issue.

Palestinian farmers are forbidden from privately importing

seedlings and claim the quota of 140 tons (down from 150 tons last year) which the military government distributes is far less than demand. Seedlings are imported from Holland and the military government controls its distribution in the West Bank.

Ibrahim Mattar, a West Bank agricultural expert, says that the potato seedlings distributed to West Bank farmers are inferior to those given to Israelis.

Complaints of discrimination were on a large scale last year. The local agriculture departments complained to the Israeli

officer in charge of agriculture who agreed after consultations with his superiors that the department of agriculture would list farmers eligible for seedlings. The agriculture department appointed a committee which reviewed and checked all applicants for seedlings and recommended 800 farmers. The military authorities subsequently changed the list for political reasons, according to sources in the department.

Last year the seedlings were distributed according to recommendations from the Israeli-backed Village Leagues.

Teachers Continue Pay Campaign

The General Committee of Government School Teachers in the West Bank (GCGST) repeated their demand for a 100 percent pay increase, in a statement released February 5, in view of teachers' salaries registering a 30 percent real wage decline during 1983.

The statement, which was prompted by the annual inflation report for 1983, published by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics in mid-January, stated that buying power of salaries declined far below the declared inflation rate. "At the beginning of 1983, average salaries stood at IS12,474, which was equivalent to 125 Jordanian dinars. By the

end of the year, salaries reached IS27,170, equivalent to JD87, a JD38 decline the statement said.

In January 1984, teachers received a 37 percent increase in the salaries for the last quarter of 1983, thus raising the average earnings of teachers to IS33,000. This, however, remained far less than the average rise in the cost of living for the same period, which totalled 48.4 percent.

The teachers' statement gave a breakdown of the monthly requirements of a family of six. After paying rent and utilities, only IS10,000 remains for food, clothing, education and miscellaneous, they said.

Pointing to the Israeli Bureau of Statistics' own estimation

of IS72,800 as a minimum income for a decent living, the teachers reiterated that they need a 100 percent salary adjustment to match the rising inflation rate.

The GCGST, which is the unofficial representative of West Bank teachers, has been demanding radical salary adjustments for more than six months. Twice during the past year they sent letters and memoranda to the Israeli officer in charge of education. No answer was received.

The GCGST was established in 1981 following a 100-day strike for salary increases. Since then, the ranks of activists have been targeted by harassment and firings.

UNRWA Trainees Protest Exams

Two hundred UNRWA training centre students demonstrated, January 31, at UNRWA's Jerusalem headquarters against the Jordanian comprehensive exam. Students also protested an UNRWA decision not to grant certified diplomas unless students

pass the comprehensive exam and the temporary closure of the Kalandia and Ramallah training centres.

For its part, UNRWA responded by postponing the reopening of the two training centres until February 11. The Jeru-

salem headquarters of UNRWA issued a press release in which it called the demonstration and sit-in "an unauthorised entry." The press release stated that demonstrating students "removed the United Nations flag and ripped it apart."

Students' Arrest Without Charge Means No Matriculation

Three Nablus students were released, February 3, after having missed taking the *taujihi* exams. The students, Imam and Jamal Ibrahim Abu Mustafa and Zaki Tsal, were arrested late January 31 on the eve of the first half of the matriculation exam, which all 12th grade West Bank students

must take.

The Haifa-based *Al Ittihad* daily reported that 17 more Nablus students were arrested, February 6, and taken to the Jenin-area-Fara'a detention centre. (Translation: Al Quds, Al Ittihad, February 7, 1984).



Prominent Palestinian personalities attend memorial meeting, February 3, to mark 40 days since the death of nationalist figure Khalil Budeiri/AO photo

Budeiri Memorial Gathers Nationalists

Over 300 leading Palestinian personalities of all political trends participated, February 3, in a memorial meeting for Dr Khalil Budeiri at Al Ittihad al-Nisa'i (Women's Union) headquarters in Jerusalem.

The meeting, which marked the 40th day since the death of Budeiri, was chaired by the head of the West Bank's Professional Union, Ibrahim Dakkak. A number of guests were prevented from attending by the Israeli authorities.

Speakers, including Al Tula editor Bashir Barghouti, Communist Knesset Member

Tawfiq Toubi, head of the Doctor's Association Dr Salah Bustami, head of the Gaza Red Crescent Society Dr Haider Abd al-Shafi, and Farid Tawil spoke about Budeiri's life, which was described as dedicated to "service of the Palestinian people and the Palestinian cause." Mourners spoke of Budeiri's political history and his role in the Palestinian socialist movement.

One speaker quoted Budeiri as having said during the British Mandate that "every foreign institution in Palestine, whether it be school, hospital or

charitable society, has relationships with the intelligence organizations of its mother country." Other speakers applauded Budeiri for his courageous political stands during his student days in London and his long medical career as the first Palestinian ophthalmologist.

One speaker remembered Budeiri's speech in a Beit Hanina conference in 1978 in opposition to the Camp David agreements.

sent messages of condolence with friends.

Three Wounded in Lebanon Clashes

Three Israeli soldiers were wounded in south Lebanon, according to Israeli army sources. Sources in Lebanon say the figure is higher. Israeli Premier Yitzhak Shamir spoke for the first time of a unilateral withdrawal from the area. Foreign reports from Lebanon said the resistance is averaging 14 attacks per week against the Israeli occupation forces.

The Israeli military spokesperson announced, February 6, that the two soldiers were wounded near the village of Sarafand, south of the Zaharani River, when a military convoy was ambushed in the early morning. The attackers used automatic weapons and hand grenades in their assault, the spokesperson said. Israeli sol-

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JEC Accuses Energy Minister of Incitement

The Chairperson of the Jerusalem Electric Company, Anwar Nusseibeh, is expected to meet with Israeli Minister of Energy Yitzhak Moda'i, February 7, for yet another explanation regarding recent statements from Israeli authorities about the confiscation of the Arab company.

Moda'i reportedly told the Israeli Knesset that his ministry will not renew the Arab company's concession when it runs out in 1988. Moda'i said that the Jerusalem company generates only 20 percent of its own electricity and buys the rest for its needs from the Israeli electricity company.

Nusseibeh told Al Fajr that he demanded an explanation for the "inciting Israeli statements." While Nusseibeh concurred that his company only produces 20 percent of its needs, he said the JEC was only recently allowed

to import five generators needed to increase its self-reliance. The electric company encountered a series of bureaucratic problems in obtaining an import licence for the generators and has continued to be harassed by Israeli officials even after getting licences.

Israeli officials have waged a long battle for control of the Arab electric company, one of the biggest single employers in the occupied territories. The company has had the concession for Jerusalem and surroundings since the British Mandate. The company has been forced to supply electricity to Israeli settlements in and around Jerusalem as well.

West Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek said he was astonished Israeli ministries complain that the JEC doesn't function properly while refusing it permission to improve itself.

VAT Ransom I.S Millions in Nablus

Adel Tawil, a wholesale dealer from Nablus, was released, February 3, after 10 days detention on suspicion of failure to pay value added tax (VAT). Another Nablus merchant, Samer Taher, escaped detention by paying IS3 million "down-payment" until his books are inspected.

Tawil was arrested after three tax men, two from the West Bank military governorate and one from the Nablus military governorate, visited his shop on January 26 and asked to look at his records. After inspecting the records, the officials found four bills not recorded in the tax files and therefore decided to put the shopowner in jail, he says. Tawil explained from the start that there were mistakes in the bills and that they had been cancelled.

After three days in detention, the merchant was taken to the Nablus military court where he was remanded for seven more days. He said the remand was summary.

On his release, the Nabulsi

businessman was made to pay IS2 million "to cover any possible tax debts," as the tax department officials put it. Taher, who also owns a dish washing soap factory in Nablus, said that Israeli tax raids are increasing at a time of severe economic hardship. He explained that many merchants are suffering big losses as a result of the steady decline in the value of the shekel. He further claimed that the commercial movement is very slow and "Israeli tax raids are further worsening the situation." Tawil said that he was seriously considering liquidating his business.

Samer Taher, a Nablus construction supplies merchant, was made to pay IS5 million after a similar raid and a threat of jail. He recovered IS2 million before the check he gave was cashed. A third business establishment, a glass factory, was also raided and made to pay an unspecified sum in supposed tax deficits, according to city business circles.

Nablus merchants

complain that the local Chamber of Commerce is doing nothing to help them. Adel Tawil said that he sought the help of the Chamber of Commerce but says he was told they "cannot do anything for him." Tawil added that he wanted the Chamber of Commerce to intervene on the merchants' behalf with the military authorities in order to try to stop the tax raids.

Earlier, Iz al-Din al-Bitar, the director of the CoC, told Al Fajr that they have not been approached by merchants and that tax issues are private matters between merchants and the authorities. Commenting on the general economic situation, al-Bitar said that it was "bad and is getting worse every day." He said that he had no knowledge of any merchant closing down because of the situation.

Two months ago, Israeli military officials raided all gold dealers in Nablus imposing massive tax demands and fines under threat of summary jail sentences.

Police Protection for Settlers' Victim

Deputy Israeli Attorney General Dorit Nebish sent a letter to Jerusalem lawyer Elias Khouri, last week, informing him that his client Mahmoud Abu Snehineh is guaranteed protection if he returns home to the Old City of Jerusalem.

Abu Snehineh and his 13-member family were forced to abandon their house in Aqbat al-Khaldiyyeh after repeated harassment and threats from extremist settlers in the neighbouring Birkat Avraham religious school.

In her letter, Nebish told Abu Snehineh's lawyer that she has recommended a 24-hour-a-day police guard to ensure protection for the family, until they are well-settled.

Abu Snehineh told Al Fajr that he asked his lawyer to try to have electricity and water mains reconnected and the kitchen and outside bathroom, destroyed by the settlers during his

absence, repaired. The lawyer, Abu Snehineh said, promised to contact the Israeli municipality of Jerusalem in order to get services to them.

The 13-member Abu Snehineh family is presently living in a tent in Hebron provided by the International Committee of the Red Cross. Abu Snehineh's children commute to school in Jerusalem every day.

The Abu Snehinehs left home last March after repeated assaults by Birkat Avraham students. The religious scholars, 70 percent of whom are former criminals according to West Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek, culminated their attacks with an assault on Mahmoud's neighbour, Fatme Abu Mayaleh. The elderly woman remained unconscious for several days after the attack in which she suffered wounds all over her body and had cooking food poured over her.

'Illegal' Property Survey To Be Withdrawn

The legal advisor to the West Bank military government informed, February 6, the lawyer for 30 Nablus and Jenin merchants that they plan to withdraw a controversial questionnaire which demands they list all capital holdings and movable or immovable assets.

The legal advisor's decision came one day before the military objections committee was to hear arguments against the imposition of the tax form.

Ramallah Advocate Raja Shebadeh, who represents West Bank merchants, told Al Fajr that he went to court to prove that the form is illegal within the framework of existing Jordanian law and in the context of international law.

The tax questionnaire, which is, similar to a capital holdings questionnaire which Israelis have to fill out, would have meant a considerable in-

crease in taxes levied against West Bank merchants and could be used as a catalogue of all Palestinian merchants' and residents' holdings by the Israeli authorities, business sources say.

A number of forms were distributed in January 1983 but an order nisi stopped distribution until a decision was available on their legality. Local West Bank chambers of commerce strongly opposed the tax form.

Flag Spitter/Sneezer Fined

A violation of the Law of the Flag was brought up in a Tel Aviv Magistrates Court against Walid Massarweh, resident of Talbeh village, aged 21. Police representative Sergeant Arif Lazar said that on a memorial day for the Israeli army dead, April 17, 1983, Walid Massarweh was working in the Mandarin Hotel. A flag of Israel was pinned to the notice board and, according to the charge, Walid

Massarweh spat on the flag.

Since then Massarweh has been wanted for questioning by the police, until he was apprehended. Under questioning, the young man claimed that he sneezed, not spat, on the flag. With police consent, the magistrate released the defendant on IS35,000 bail. (Translation: Yedioth Aharanot, January 31, 1984).

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Old Policy, New Method

The latest closure of Bir Zeit University — the eighth thus far — is in some ways a back-handed compliment. A compliment in that the military is attempting, by closing only the old campus, to undercut the pressure they know will come from abroad. These are strange days. Occupation policy remains the same but changes are made in the method of execution.

Closing half the university — severing BZU's 'nerve centre' but leaving the empty buildings on the new campus accessible — is an attempt to destroy academic life while leaving a facade of activity. It is the kind of too-clever manoeuvre on the part of the military authorities that surely shows their ridiculousness: the first time university buildings have been collectively punished. Najah University in Nablus recently suffered a similar repression — closure by roadblock on a day-to-day basis.

But it is highly unlikely that the BZU community here and its friends abroad will be duped into silence by such manoeuvring. Academic freedom is not divisible and only Israeli apologists will attempt to defend the military actions in international university circles.

Likewise, protest against the shooting of civilians by settlers or military is unlikely to be assuaged by the unprecedented arrest of one of the killers. The right to life and security also cannot be dealt with in such a dilettante way.

Fundamental freedoms and rights have been abused and partitioned in the occupied territories for over a decade-and-a-half. But the aspiration for basic freedom and the struggle for independent rights has not ceased — and those engaged in it, and those who support them, will not be fooled or silenced by roundabout methods to suppress them.

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Yusef Nasr: Ten Years' Absence

February 5, 1984 marks 10 years since the disappearance of Yusef Nasr, founder and owner of *Al Fajr*. Nasr, who established *Al Fajr* in April 1972 as a national Arabic daily, was kidnapped from his Jerusalem home. The case is still unsolved.

Testimony by one of the kidnappers arrested by the Israeli police pointed to members of the Ja'abari clan in Hebron as perpetrators of the kidnapping. *Al Fajr* at that time was strongly opposed to pro-Jordanian figures in the West Bank, especially Sheikh Ali Ja'abari, the mayor of Hebron and a leading pro-Jordanian figure.

Yusef Nasri Nasr was born in Syria to Palestinian parents. He grew up in Jerusalem and graduated with a political science degree from Illinois State University in 1966. After returning to Jerusalem he taught at Ibrahimiyah School until his arrest by Israeli authorities on a charge of "incitement." He was removed from his teaching post.

With the establishment of *Al Fajr*, Nasr's political views came to the fore and the paper gained wide popularity because of its anti-occupation and anti-Jordanian line. His direct and clear style made him enemies who eventually removed him.



POLICY SHIFT?

Saudi Official Slams US Marine Presence

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington, DC Correspondent

A business delegation from the US was told by Prince Abdullah Ibn al-Aziz in Riyadh that the US Marines in Lebanon came at the wrong time and do the wrong thing, Radio Riyadh reported, February 2.

The American delegation, headed by a former US Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, John West, was briefed by the Saudi prince about events in the Middle East, focussing on the situation in Lebanon and the role of US Marines there. Abdullah told the American delegation, "I don't understand the role being played by the American Marines in Lebanon." He expressed surprise that they were there at all. "Were they to intervene, the act would be condemned by all" as intervening in regional affairs. "Should their mission fail, the prestige of the US would suffer," the prince noted.

The high-ranking Saudi official also criticised the policy of US President Ronald Reagan of not withdrawing Marines. He said removal of all "invading Israeli forces and the US forces from Lebanon must be accomplished as soon as possible." The Syrian forces, he said, "will withdraw after that. There is absolutely no doubt that this will be accomplished," which will then contribute to achieving Lebanese unity.

Asked about the above report, Allen Romberg, US State Department spokesperson, tried to play it down. He read a statement saying that US understanding of the Saudi position is that they agree with US policy and the Marines' presence and objectives in Lebanon. "The Crown Prince recognises fully," Romberg said, "that a US withdrawal now would harm the US' reputation and tarnish that of its friends." The Saudi government, he continued, supports the (Lebanese President Amin)



Gemayel government's request for the multinational forces in Lebanon. "We understand that remains the Saudi government position," he concluded, refusing to reveal when the Saudi assurances were last given to the US.

Prince Abdullah also condemned the US-Israeli strategic cooperation agreement, questioning the US belief that Israel can confront the USSR, the given reason for the strategic understanding. The true reasons, he said, are designs "directed against the interests of the Arab nation." About the Palestinian people's situation, he said, "It is a sin that the Palestinian people should be left scattered throughout the world." The US can help in bringing about a peaceful solution and had the Reagan plan contained "the right to self-determination" it would've been accepted. Talking to the American group, he said, "Does any of you agree to be deprived of the right to determine their destiny and to have that right left in the hands of others?" The Saudi prince also warned that one day Arab divisiveness will disappear and then "it will be difficult to accept (any) peaceful solution whatsoever." He reminded the American delegation that their interests and those of the West in this region "are in the hands of the Arab nation, a factor which the US must take into account."

Some knowledgeable sources in Washington interpret this latest statement as a departure from Saudi policy. The same sources based their reading also on the US\$4 billion deal the Saudis consummated with France, rather than the US, and more talks between Saudi Arabia and West Germany on another arms deal. It should also be remembered that the Saudi, Jordanian and Egyptian governments consider it unacceptable that Israel can veto a US\$220 million arms sale for the "Jordanian Strike Force" basically to defend Gulf states from Libyan internal uprisings, especially with the continued "Islamic fundamentalist" growth in the region.

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

In the recent issue of the monthly *Nekuda*, the settler's organ in the West Bank, is the following news item: "Arab Culture and Personality Course — a socio-psychological analysis of the general Arab mentality in our era, according to the approach of 'culture and personality' in social science." The subjects: "obstacles to modernisation in contemporary Arab societies; the influence of child-rearing in traditional and urban middle-class families on the basic Arab personality (author's emphasis); the influence of bilingualism and marginalism on the typical slowness of intellectuals; the Arabs as a problem for themselves." The news item is signed by the 'Judea and Samaria' College in Kedumim.

Such a course, which is intended, among other things, to teach about the Arab mentality and the basic Arab personality, raises — in addition to certain implications — a natural curiosity. I telephoned Kedumim College and was informed that indeed they wanted to teach the course within the framework of *Eretz Israel* studies and that, however, because of the low number of students, the course was dropped after two classes. I wondered if the settler's desire to learn about and become acquainted with the people of the country has ceased? I got the answer on another page of the *Nekuda* but I'll deal with that later. In the meantime, I was interested to know what they would teach in such a course. I turned to Dr Aharon Ben Ami from Bar Ilan University (in Ramat Gan — tr.) who teaches at Kedumim College and who was to have conducted the course.

Ben Ami explained that it was mainly about anthropological-social research, based on research of primitive societies, that were transferred to research of modern societies, and more precisely — the relationship between the societies and the Arab personality. What is, then, the basic Arab personality? — I stressed my question. "It is related to nothing concrete or empirical — it is related to simplicity. A kind of a construction or model that provides a relationship between systems of bringing up children, for instance, and manner of behaviour. For example: the suckling period of the Arab male is longer than that of the female, ie — the male still is suckling by the time he can speak. He

Friends From Another Planet

by Zvi Bar'el

doesn't need to cry in order to get food, and so a connection is created in him between speech and the resultant satisfaction of his will. Already in this stage speaking gains importance, so much so that it may constitute a substitute to action. This infant action of the Arab male might be connected with characteristics like: overvaluing speech, phrasology, etc. As a result of this, speaking essentially becomes a goal. Or another possible result: you have spoken — that is you acted, and you need not necessarily do what was said, or threatened.

Another example: the Arab male is pampered in a different manner than the Arab female. The boy is pampered physically, including playing with the sexual organs, hugging and holding tightly to the body; therefore he grows to be a sensual type with a double personality. On one hand he needs to prove his manhood and on the other has a feminine identification which he has to drive away. Here develops an incorporation of cruelty with romanticism.

Such examples have political implications, of course. Dr Ben Ami says, for instance, "We should not become overly afraid of Arab threats to annihilate us — recalling that speaking is a part of the goal. But with this, we must exercise caution. It resembles raising a tiger at home — it is calm until it feels that its owner is vulnerable."

In this research framework on the "Arab personality," Ben Ami bases himself on sociological research like that of Egypt's Dr Amar, who created the type of the "Fahlawi Man". This is, according to Ben Ami's definition, a smart, clever but superficial type. A person who lacks intellectual allegiance and who greatly values making an impression. This is apparently another type that may characterise the Arab personality.

I must confess that the conversation with Dr Ben Ami was restricting

and educational: here is a scientific experiment to look at Arabs from a new anthropological angle to determine the characteristics of their personality and to try to learn their past and future behaviour from this — accompanied by psychological explanations. I wondered why the course taught at Bar Ilan doesn't attract students at Kedumim College?

And while turning the pages of *Nekuda* I found the answer. David Rosenzweig, a Kedumim resident, wrote a long and logical article about our complications in Lebanon and the conclusions that come from that: "We have implanted fighter's pride in the (guerrillas). They competed on equal terms with the Israeli army. They can explain the great achievement of stopping the Israeli army at the gates of Beirut as fear on the part of the Israeli army of a final showdown with the Palestinian army." So far, a logical definition. "We adopted the way of thinking that if we annihilate the extremists and nurse the moderates, we'll uproot extremism." Therefore — it is understood from the words — we entered Lebanon. This too might be a logical statement. However, the article continues: "We adopted a naive, honest, moderate and peace-seeking moral framework." And from here follows the, so to speak, necessary conclusion: "Collective punishment, putting responsibility on those who did not commit the crime, contradicts our moral view, and from this come the easy punishments and severely restrictive opening-fire instructions, etc." But: "The truth is, that all this isn't morality — this is humility (emphasis in the original). We prefer to take the Arab people to pieces. To suffer in property and in soul than not to call the enemy by its name... We ignore that there exists a collective mentality (again mentality!!) of public

opinion and of the general will."

In brief: "We must take care that the *Eretz Israeli* Arab branch (is this branch connected to a trunk/race? — Z.B.) will lose every time there is an incident that harms our life in *Eretz Israel*." How to do this? "We must urge them to get out... for our peace, the peace of all of Israel and not only of the Judea and Samaria residents, for the sake of our future in this country. In order that there will be a future for us, there is no place for the Arabs in this country." And how to do this? "Anyone who thinks that he'll be able to force the Arabs to leave the country by partisan acts (what is called in the jargon 'taking the law in the hands') is deluding himself and others; there should be a search for a new and revolutionary way to take care of the Jewish-Arab conflict."

This is a vague remark, without concrete content. Therefore, I telephoned Mr Rosenzweig and he explained to me that he is against terrorist acts. "There should be an orderly governmental act initiated that would bring the expulsion of the Arabs, by money or payment. Coexistence is dangerous and if we proceed with it we'll come to a situation dangerous to our lives. And when this is the situation, there will be no more escaping putting the Arabs on buses and passing them over the bridges, like they did in Greece and Bangladesh. I don't want to reach such a situation. Therefore something should be initiated before." By the way, David Rosenzweig is a teacher by profession.

Here lies also the answer to the question why the course of Dr Ben Ami closed. Indeed, if the Arabs anyway are pushed out, by good or bad means, by payment or on buses, there is no sense in wasting time learning the basic Arab personality and its mentality — because the problem will not exist anymore.

I'm convinced that the intentions of Dr Ami are basically academic, like Rosenzweig's intentions are educational. However, such academic and educational content pours to our planet. They have already been constructing the new *Eretz Israeli* planet — and they are from us. Friends from another planet. (Translation: HaAretz, December 13, 1983).

Implications of an Inspector's Accusation

by Roland Rance

"Suspects in Israeli jails are tortured and denied their legal rights; witnesses are mistreated; minors are subjected to continual illegal interrogations; and the police act from political motives." So claims former Police Inspector Abraham Harnoi in a letter to the ministers of defence, justice and the interior, reported Israeli daily *HaAretz*, January 27, 1984.

Harnoi, whose son Yossi is held for the murder of Aisheh al-Bahash, from Nablu, claims in his letter that his 11-year-old grandson Moshe, allegedly a witness to the incident, was interrogated at Petah Tikva police station "without the presence of his mother or other relatives and not by a youth interrogator... against police standing orders and administrative procedures." He claims that another witness, Yitzhak

Biton, of Elon Moreh, was "beaten vigorously for several hours until he lost consciousness. The investigators were forced to revive him by pouring water over his head. After his release, he lay at home for two days because of the pain, and signs of the beating could be seen on his body."

Harnoi advised his son to maintain his right not to speak, "since I have 18 years professional experience of police investigations. This experience teaches

that confessions taken from a suspect are generally not accurate, and that they are taken in a way and by means not compatible with legal processes... an unlawful attempt was made to indirectly influence my son to break his right to silence by placing him in a room close to the room in which I was being interrogated and from which there came shouts and threats against me, within hearing of my son... in order to frighten (him)."

Because of all these illegal acts, ex-inspector Harnoi is demanding a commission of inquiry into the behaviour of the police in this case. Such an inquiry, provided it is not used to whitewash the murder of Aisheh, could be interesting and useful. We can be sure that Jewish terrorists are treated mildly in comparison with Palestinian political detainees and that the accusations made by ex-inspector Harnoi are substantially true. The question is, how often does such treatment of Palestinians receive wide and sympathetic coverage in the Hebrew press? But then, how many Palestinians have fathers who are former inspectors in the Israeli police who can advise them on their right to remain silent and who can seriously demand a government inquiry?

bearing on the final verdict and judgement, whatever the level of her professional effectiveness. Though the weakness of her character may be excusable, it is nothing to make a film about.

In the film, Salim, a Palestinian, is arrested and tried for illegal entry, suspected of plotting a terrorist strike and is defended by Hanna K. He was predictably convicted but treated relatively

continued on page 15

To the editor,

The film reviewed January 27, *Hanna K.*, directed by Costa Gavras, disappointed many Gavras fans who had expected a film as equally unambiguous and imaginative politically as two of his previous films, *Z* and *Missing*. The film, I think is partly about the legal and moral dilemmas pertaining to race, nationality and property rights, and partly about the Israeli fear of terrorism, the

Hanna K. Ambiguous

by M.P. Allen

anticipation of which induces the government to take preventative and punitive measures that are liable to be misplaced and exaggerated to the point of irrationality.

However, this film fails to show either part clearly. The film is more

largely about the private life of a defence lawyer, Hanna K., which takes too much of the limelight. The incompetence with which she handles it affects her profession. She is confused and distracted in the courtroom, though it was obvious it would have had little

The Jerusalem Post, for instance, wrote, "The Israeli government appears intent on approving a plan to move the wholesale market in Hebron in order to reconstruct the Jewish quarter there." The Post alleged that local business-people would be happy to move. The next day, Israel TV reported on the plan and screened interviews with local merchants, most of whom expressed outright rejection of the plan. Some went so far as to say that they would not get out under any circumstances.

The plan, however, comes as no surprise to Hebronites. They first considered it a possibility when work started five years ago on restoration of a synagogue at the far end of the market. People are reluctant to think the worst, however, given that it would impoverish them. People virtually tremble when they hear news about Israel's intention to implement the plan.

The market is the economic nerve centre of the city. It consists of about 150 stores of different sizes which provide a living for about 400 families. Most of the stores are old and arranged along both sides of a partially covered thoroughfare starting in the heart of the city and ending at the site of the recently restored synagogue which the Israelis claim to be part of a Jewish quarter.

Dozens of families live in the market area. Between almost every other shop is a closed iron gate. These are entrances to houses over the stores. According to store owners, the gates were installed recently after the escalation of settler violence. There are settler families close to the market area, living where they forced out a number of Arab families.

These days the market looks like a military zone. The seized buildings are topped with barbed wire and soldiers in three military posts constantly train their weapons on the people below.

On the ground, Israeli infantry units patrol back and forth through the market all day. One casual visitor said he felt the soldiers might open fire at any time. The soldiers' presence augments that of the occasional settlers, whose mere presence has become provocative to the Palestinian inhabitants.

Unlike most 74-year-olds, who would choose to stay "home" if only because of the burdens of age, the Palestinian Catholic priest Father Ibrahim Ayyad continues to energetically work to recover his homeland, Palestine, which he has decided will be his only resting place. Father Ayyad's odyssey has been ongoing for 50 years. In the last four months only, he has travelled three continents and nine countries. We caught up with the indefatigable Abouna Ayyad in Washington, DC in mid-January.

Father Ayyad was born in Beit Sahour, near Bethlehem, in 1910 and attended a local parochial school and then a religious seminary in Jerusalem which belonged to the Latin Patriarchate, where he also gained his degree in philosophy, theology and canon law. Young Abouna Ayyad obtained his degree in civil government law and legal studies in 1937. He was appointed director of the Latin Convent in Ramallah, in addition to being the president of the Latin Ecclesiastical Board for Jerusalem and advisor to the Latin Patriarchate. While in Ramallah, Abouna Ayyad said, "I founded the Ahliya College which is still working." The college was founded as a Palestinian nationalist response to threats by the then director of the AFSC (American Friends Service Committee) to expel Palestinian students who took part in a

Israeli announcements that Hebron wholesale merchants want to move out are not true, *Al Fajr's* Awad Abdel Fattah found when he visited the old market recently. Shopkeepers are determined to stay, but pessimistic about the future on the frontline of Israeli settlement.

Israeli Plans for the Hebron Market Have Residents on Edge



Temporary stalls surround the Hebron market, economic nerve centre of the city, following arsoning by Israeli settlers last July. Reports of Israeli plans to reconstruct a Jewish quarter on the site of the market have local merchants very worried. Says dismissed Mayor Mustafa Natshe: "The attempt to force the population from (the area) is an attempt to paralyse the whole city..."

Despite an underlying ill mood, shoppers and strollers are constantly on the move. The military features of the place, it seems, do not make much difference to them. They are not as worried as the merchants, whose constant fear is that within a day, or even a few minutes, they could be stripped of their livelihoods. They make no secret of their worry. When speaking on the subject, the strongly worded statements

come first: "We will not leave this place." Atiyya Awali, clothes merchant, told *Al Fajr* that all the business-people in the old Hebron market are comfortable but not well off. He went on counting the daily takings from his small and poorly-appointed store and added,

According to him, rents outside the market are JD10,000 per annum,

compared with the JD500 he pays now. Hussam Badr, in the next shop, spoke more strongly. He said his shop supports three families of 22 people.

he said. He remarked that he has been living from this shop for the last 30 years.

The merchants dismiss as baseless the Israeli claims that the area belongs to Jewish families who lived there until 1929. There are some 10 shops which belonged to Jews and which merchants still rent from the Israeli Custodian of Absentee Property, they say. Others point out that even the houses and stores which were once inhabited by Jewish families originally belonged to Arabs whose owners leased or sold them to Jewish families.

Since 1968, Israeli settlers have constantly pressured the Israeli military authorities to destroy the market and "rebuild the Jewish quarter," but the property in the market has always been under the control of the Hebron municipality, which leased it from the Jordanian Custodian of Absentee Property and the Islamic waqf.

On July 6, last year, settler Aharon Gross was killed in the market. In response, the market and the central bus station were ordered closed for three weeks and the mayor of Hebron, Mustafa Natshe, was dismissed and replaced by an Israeli military man. The bus station has never been reopened.

The killing of the settler was used by the settlers' movement in the city, which is headed by Gush Emunim fanatic Rabbi Moshe Levinger, as a new reason to demand "the restoration of the Jewish quarter." The settlers claimed, "The setting up of the Jewish quarter on the place where Aharon Gross was murdered would be the best response to this crime."

Commenting on the plan, the dismissed mayor Mustafa Natshe said, "The market and the bus station are the central nerve which feeds the city of Hebron, and the attempt to force the population and the merchants from them is an attempt to paralyse the whole city — and this would mean emptying the city of its Arab population."

Father Ibrahim Ayyad, Catholic priest and Palestine National Council member, spoke of his life and work to *Al Fajr's* Ghassan Bishara during his recent tour of the US and Latin America.

The PLO Priest: A Long Life of Resistance

strike that year — 1945 — protesting on the anniversary of the Balfour Declaration.

Father Ayyad, who cuts a distinctive figure on the Palestinian political scene with his long black clerical attire and broad-brimmed hat, served his people since 1936, when he joined the Arab Higher Committee, and was the one Christian clergyman to be asked to bless the plans of Yasir Arafat and Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad) to establish Fatah in 1965.

In 1948 he became the liaison for the committee to international institutions. In 1965, Father Ayyad continued, "Yasir Arafat and Abu Jihad came to the convent in Beirut and showed me plans for Fatah." When Arafat came a second time, Ayyad said, "I thought he was in need of money." But when he was offered money, Arafat said, "No, I am in need of your blessings only," and a dialogue began. He then went on a special mission to Latin America and to Europe, and in 1970 became the head

of a Palestinian delegation to the US, Chile and Brazil. Father Ayyad became the general head of the South American section of the PLO, in addition to being a member of the Palestine National Council since 1977.

The outspoken Palestinian priest was the first and one of the few PNC members to have "constructively criticised PLO institutions in Beirut" during the 16th session held in Algiers in February 1983. He said that there is a serious need to improve Palestinian institutions, adding, "All of us share the responsibility for whatever shortcomings there are. No one person should be blamed."

Abouna Ayyad argues determinedly that it is by order of God, as a Christian, that he searches for the achievement of a just solution to the Palestinian issue. It is his duty to end the oppression of individuals and people, regardless of their race or religion, he said, including the oppression of Jews.

Father Ayyad talked to *Al Fajr* in Washington, DC on a stop to Tunis from

South America where he was sent by Chairman Arafat to "contact our people there... and to inform them of the latest developments (regarding) our cause." He is in the US, he said, to do the same. His current tour began in September in Amsterdam and then continued to Chile, Brazil, Peru, Columbia, Venezuela and Panama.

When we asked about the way he is treated by the media as a Catholic priest and as a PLO activist, Father Ayyad told us, "This is the eternal question. My religion commands me to help my people... especially the oppressed." He quoted Ecclesiastes (chap. 4, verse 26): "Till death, fight for justice and God will defend you." And "yes", he said, "of course I would do the same for Jews."

In the largely Muslim Arab world, Abouna Ayyad said, "I am treated very kindly... I never feel I am a stranger in the Arab world." Ayyad meets often with Arab government officials where Arab culture dictates friendliness, warmth and hospitality even to strangers. Talking of hospitality, Father Ayyad said sadly, "I have not been to my country, my town, my college, since 1967." If he went, he believes, "at the least I would be jailed." The 74-year-old Palestinian priest and activist hopes that someday soon, very soon, he will be able to go back to his church, his college and his people in Palestine.



White Russian Father Grabbee: an attack on "the atheistic rule in Russia which persecutes the church."

The Russian Orthodox Church is riven with controversy. The 67-year-old battle for legitimacy between the New York-based 'Whites' and the Moscow-based 'Reds' continues in the Holy Land against a background of military attacks on both sides by Israeli terror groups. *Al Fajr's* Daoud Kuttub recently visited both sides' leaders in preparing this report.

The Russian Orthodox Church: Moscow-New York Friction Flares in Palestine

According to church history records, Russia was Christianised in 988 AD. In previous years, Greek missionaries entered the Slav-populated territories and eventually converted Grand Duke Vladimir of Kiev. He adopted the Greek Orthodox faith as the state religion.

In addition to customary forms of religious worship — attendance of church services, observance of holidays and fasts — there developed in Russia the widespread practice of pilgrimage to holy shrines and sites. The ultimate pilgrimage was, of course, the long and often hazardous voyage to the Holy Land. According to Russian Church books, Russian clergymen and politicians are said to have resisted the temptation to establish any kind of physical presence in Palestine. Church historians explain that Russian clergymen were apprehensive about the idea of extending missionary activity in the Holy Land for fear of alienating Greek clergy who already had jurisdiction over Orthodox Arabs in these territories. Russian politicians, on the other hand, especially the ministry of foreign affairs, were against any presence or influence in Palestine for fear that such action "would arouse the suspicions of the Western powers about Russian influence."

Russian Presence in the Holy Land

Despite the apparent apprehension of both clergy and politicians, by the 19th century Russians joined other foreign nationals in placing their feet in Palestine. In 1820, a Russian Embassy was established in Jaffa, the port of entry for many Russian pilgrims. In 1884, top level negotiations began with Turkish authorities for the safe conduct of pilgrims and for permission to set up a pilgrims reception centre. By 1887, the Russian Church had raised the status of its representative in the Holy Land to that of bishop. Bishop Cyril was consecrated bishop of a diocese in south Russia in order to avoid infringements of the jurisdiction of the Greek Patriarch in Jerusalem. He became the first Russian bishop to have ever set foot in the Holy Land.

The presence of a high-level Russian clergyman who had money for purchasing lands and building churches started to show concrete results. The Russian mission's activities became so large that a separate society, the Palestine Orthodox Society, was established exclusively to collect money from Russian nationals for purchasing land and building monuments with biblical connections.

Russian Revolution and Civil War

The Russian Revolution of 1917 and the civil war that followed produced major complications for the Russian Orthodox Church. Two groups have emerged, both claiming to be the true representatives of Russian Orthodox believers. The first, which consists of Orthodox Russians outside the Soviet Union, recognises only the authority of the Synod of Bishops that is presently based in New York. This group, which calls itself the Russian Church Outside Russia and is referred to as the White Russians, strongly opposes communist regimes and is bitterly opposed to Russians who recognise the Moscow patriarchate.

The other group established a patriarchate in Moscow, after conducting patriarchal elections in the presence of representatives of Orthodox churches. The Russian Orthodox Church which follows the Moscow Patriarchate — commonly referred to as the Red Russians — is recognised as the official Russian Orthodox church by the Greek Orthodox Church and by the Soviet government.

Russian Church in Palestine Today

At the end of World War I, the British mandatory authorities recognised the legal status of the Russian Church Outside Russia. The White Russian mission enjoyed official British protection and even received financial help for its staff and institutions.

The first Palestinian-Israeli war in 1948 brought a division of the Russian Church property scattered throughout the country. On the Israeli side, churches, monasteries and land belonging to Orthodox Russians were turned over to clergymen following the Moscow Patriarchate as part of the agreement between the Soviet Union and Israel. The Soviet Union recognised the newly established state, established diplomatic ties with it and sent clergymen to administer Russian Church property.

On the other hand, Jordan, which was left to rule the West Bank after 1948, allowed the White Russians to continue to administer property there. King Hussein is a member of the Palestine Orthodox Society and a photograph of him receiving the membership medal hangs in an East Jerusalem church headquarters.

The 1967 war, which resulted in the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, complicated the Russian controversy. Israel did not interfere with the properties of the White church. Both sides had access to each other and both were making claims for the property controlled by the other, but the White Russians

moved first. Archamandrite Anthony Grabbee, head of the Jerusalem mission of the Russian Church Outside Russia, went to court against the state of Israel and the Soviet Union demanding the return of all properties in Israel-proper. After 10 years of litigation, the request was rejected.

Speaking to *Al Fajr* from his East Jerusalem church, Father Grabbee explained that the Israelis were "not keen about returning properties, for purely political reasons." He explained the Israelis would have a major crisis if they had to deport all Moscow-based clergymen. The White Russian clergyman, who has a US flag in his office, also suggested that in the absence of a Soviet embassy in Israel, the Moscow-based church has become a necessary channel for diplomatic messages which Israel could not afford to live without.

Archamandrite Grabbee used the occasion of a press interview in order to attack what he called "the atheistic rule in Russia which persecutes the church." Grabbee said that Orthodox clergymen in Russia are "mere puppets" in the hands of communist officials and that there is no freedom of religion in Russia. When asked if he doesn't think that he is being used by the US to further its anti-communist policy, Grabbee, who met President Reagan last December, said, "The United States believes in the separation of church and state and we seek its help in order to influence Israeli officials regarding our properties in Israel."

Moscow Russian Replies

Archamandrite Panteleimone, head of the Russian mission in Israel, replied to Grabbee's allegations: "These priests who left Russia after the great revolution of 1917 organised an Orthodox Church Outside Russia. We consider their church a foreign one." Regarding the church properties turned over to the Moscow church after 1948, Father Panteleimone explained that clergymen coming from Russia have much more right to the property than Russians living outside it, many of whom have American, English, French and Australian blood. Regarding the question of religious freedom in the Soviet Union, Panteleimone, who was speaking through an interpreter, said, "We have two theological academies, three seminaries, two post-graduate institutions, 17 monasteries for nuns, 40,000 priests and 50 million believers in the Soviet Union." Panteleimone called accusations that the church is controlled by Soviet officials or the KGB mere "imagination." Both heads of the Russian missions in the Holy Land trade accusation of the



Father Panteleimone of the Moscow-based church: "If this foreign church (the White Russian) recognises the Moscow Patriarchate, all will be solved."

other's membership in intelligence organisations, Grabbee accusing Panteleimone of being controlled by the KGB and Panteleimone accusing Grabbee of, along with his father, membership in the CIA.

Terror

Russian clergy have been the target of an intense campaign of harassment. The Ain Karem monastery in particular has suffered much in the past years. Last year, two nuns were murdered in cold blood. Swastikas and statements reading "The End is Near" have been painted on the church door and walls. On another occasion, an attempt to burn the church was stopped short.

In East Jerusalem, last month, a White Russian church was the target of a 'Terror Against Terror' grenade, which was fortunately discovered in time. The head of the Russian mission in West Jerusalem said the attacks were targeted at Christian sites. Father Panteleimone scoffed at the repeated Israeli guarantees to protect holy sites. Other problems facing the Russian church relate to Israeli intransigence in returning property taken for public use.

Father Panteleimone complained that the Israeli government refuses to return the building which now hosts the High Court and other courts. Ten years ago, the return of the building, which is part of the church's main headquarters, was promised "just as soon as the new courthouse is finished." Church officials have not heard about any plans to move the courthouse since then.

In East Jerusalem and the rest of the West Bank the White Church faces different problems. Two strips of land, one near the Jerusalem Jericho road and the other inside the Old City of Jerusalem, are under threat of expropriation. Father Grabbee says that the church doesn't have money to build on these lands to protect them from expropriation. Israeli journalists have claimed that the two-dunum plot of land near St. Stephen's Gate has already been sold to the Israel Lands Administration. Father Grabbee vehemently denies the reports.

Reconciliation

The split in the Russian Church seems difficult to heal considering the involvement of opposing superpowers. When asked if reconciliation is possible, the head of the Moscow mission quoted his patriarch as saying, "If this foreign church recognises the Moscow Patriarchate, all will be solved." Father Grabbee of the Russian Church Outside Russia answered, "Only when the communists are no longer in power."

In his continuing series on the underground Israeli military groups in the West Bank, Dani Rubinstein, *Davar's* occupied territories correspondent, examines the reasons Israel's police, military, paramilitary and intelligence services fail to apprehend anti-Arab murderers.

Why Have the Investigations Failed?

When MK Yossi Sarid raised the issue of the existence of an underground in Kiryat Arba and the settlements, Justice Minister Moshe Nissim shouted at him, "The underground exists only in your head." Minister Nissim and many like him who sympathise wholeheartedly with the settlers, get panicky whenever terrorist acts such as the mayors' assassinations and the attack on the Islamic College are called "underground." It is much more convenient for them to speak about "exceptional cases" or about "imposition of the law in the territories," blurring the existence of a violent underground group among the settlers.

Senior security people dodge the use of the word "underground" and claim that the group of people who acted in the Islamic College and harmed (Mayors of Nablus and Ramallah, Bassam Shaka'a and (Karim) Khalaf are not included, according to the professional security terms, in the definition "underground." Why? Because an underground is a secret and closed cell of people who meet and act on a permanent basis, and these are *ad hoc* organisations for committing one or two deeds.

This semantic disagreement is not important, of course, but it reveals the security and political problems of the investigation which have made it fail. This is the failure to which Justice Minister Moshe Nissim referred last week, saying that the state of Israel "has not prepared the tools" to compete with such a phenomenon. When there are fears of organisations that would harm the state, the security services know how to deal with them. The prominent example is, of course, the Arab population under Israeli rule.

What should be done with the settlers? Should there be a permanent network of agents in Kiryat Arba and the settlements to collect information and stories, with special secret departments and all that is connected with that?

Since the 1950s, this kind of activity of the security services against Israelis has decreased. It exists only against very small and fragmented extremist groups. In case of suspicion against the settlers, this is a totally different story. Indeed, an impossible one. Because in accepted terms, the settlers cannot constitute a potential security risk. On the contrary, in the government and the coalition they are considered as super-patriots. Those who express the political ideas of the settlers and carry out their deeds are sitting in the most senior jobs in the government and the Knesset. The committers of terror against Arabs have arisen from among the settlers and have satisfied coalition member like MK Rabbi Druckman, who said after the assault on the mayors, "So should Israel's enemies go."

There is no need to speak widely about the popular "understanding" of these terrorist actions. After the blasts that crippled Shaka'a and Khalaf, it was possible to hear in many corners of the country talk like "It's a pity they didn't finish them." These things are well-known.

The security services that joined the investigation of the mayors' assassination and the Islamic College couldn't behave in the manner they are used to.



"In all the talks I had with people connected to the investigation ever since the assassination attempt on the mayors, I was told that the identity of the suspects is more-or-less known and that it is better that the media doesn't raise the issue because publicity could harm intelligence work. The failure of the investigation raised a wave of whisperings: perhaps the organisers of the actions from among the settlers were given direct support from some security elements... This may be the most sensitive point in the whole affair."

Teddy Kollek (West Jerusalem mayor) said yesterday in a conference of the 'Together Movement' that to his regret a large number of people in Israel support terror against the Arabs — about 18 percent according to public opinion polls. Terror of the TNT (Terror Against Terror) sort can exist only if the perpetrators have the feeling that they have public support. Kollek said in response to a question from the audience that he prays wholeheartedly that it will finally be made clear that the perpetrators of the recent attempts against mosques and churches in Jerusalem were Arab provocateurs.

Kollek objected to the activity of government offices and other bodies resettling 15 Jewish-owned houses in the Muslim Quarter of Jerusalem's Old City. "I don't say my words on behalf of tolerance but in the name of Zionist interests. They forgot that in this town there are hundreds of houses in which Arabs lived in the past and today are lived in by Israelis. What would we gain if we grab 15 houses in the Muslim Quarter? Only tremendous tension that will deter new residents from the town."

"I heard Rabbi Kahane promised to erase within six months the Arab mosques from the Temple Mount (*al-Haram*) — Kollek is referring to al-Aqsa and the Mosque of Omar) if he gets the defence portfolio for that period. He can't bear others to have freedom of religion," said Kollek.

Kollek said that Jerusalem has become the biggest centre of *Torah* learning in the whole world, but the Orthodox public's leaders should impose their faith, if at all, in a pleasant manner and not by sticks and coercion. "Coercion causes a danger that one day the secular public will rise and hit back. It is hard to live being strangled."

Referring to the Birkat Avraham *Yeshiva* (centre of attacks on Palestinians in the Old City — ed.s) in the Muslim Quarter of the Old City, Kollek said that 70 percent of its students are criminals. He also claimed that the *yeshiva* is not a *yeshiva* at all and is not recognised as such by the *yeshivot* organisation. He called again for the withdrawal of the *yeshiva* students from that place and to bring others to replace them. (Translation: HaAretz, January 31, 1984).



Tombs in the Thaso Islamic cemetery in Jaffa were desecrated by members of 'Terror Against Terror' (TNT) December 22, 1983. West Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek said that terror of the TNT sort can exist only if the perpetrators have a feeling of public support.

They were forced to join the police in regular police work and to try to catch the Jewish terrorist underground in the (West) Bank in the ways criminals are caught in Tel Aviv: following relatively reduced intelligence work, assisted by confessions, circumstantial evidence, attempts to get state's witnesses, etc.

With criminals this may be successful because they are social offenders — thieves, frauds, drug addicts, often mentally disturbed. The (West) Bank Israeli underground members are totally different types. To incriminate them and get their conviction in court by the regular police methods is almost impossible. Thus the security investigation found itself in a dead-end street: they don't want and can't relate to this group as to the PLO and therefore they also avoid considering it an underground; and, on the other hand, when they consider them as criminals who are organised from time to time, they aren't able to catch them.

In all the talks I had with people connected to the investigations ever since the assassination attempt on the mayors about three-and-a-half years ago, I was always told that the identity of the suspects is more-or-less known and that it is better that the media doesn't raise the issue because publicity would harm intelligence work. It becomes clear that intelligence work so far has failed. The failure of the investigation raised a wave of whisperings: perhaps the organisers of the actions from among the settlers were granted direct or indirect support from some security elements (the Arabs, *apropos*, are sure that the committers of these deeds got semi-official backing). This is, maybe, the most sensitive point in the whole affair.

A hint of such a thought may be found, for instance, in what was said by Ze'ev Friedman, who was deputy head of Kiryat Arba Council and who was accused in the Jerusalem District Court of destroying physical evidence (that might be connected with the offence against the mayors). In response to one of the questions, Friedman said: "I thought that if those who committed the assassination indeed did it, it would not reach the court."

Based on all the information I have collected on the issue, it is possible to state for sure that no state body was involved in attacking Arabs. Furthermore, in this framework (absence of intelligence infrastructure), the investigators made their biggest efforts and invested much manpower in the investigation.

Another possibility is that one or more security men cooperated with the underground group. This is a possibility that definitely might be taken into account. There have already been cases with similar characteristics in the state of Israel.

All the problems of the investigation of the underground affair that arose on the background of the settlements are not related to the group called (Terror Against Terror) TNT, which is totally different from the first — its actions are different, its men different, its deeds are concentrated more in the Jerusalem area and less in the (West) Bank. Most unfortunately, the investigation has gained only partial results. (Translation: *Davar*, January 16, 1984).

Political censorship of films does not exist in most Western countries. One film producer is finding to her cost, however, that commercial considerations can operate just as effectively.

Michelle Ray-Gavras, producer of her husband's latest film *Hanna K.*, was in Jerusalem in mid-January promoting the movie. It was tough going, but something she has become accustomed to, for in Europe and the United States a shadow has fallen across the project with movie distributors refusing to take *Hanna K.*, reviewers reluctant to discuss the content and in one country at least, anonymous groups telephoning bomb threats whenever a screening takes place.

The film concerns the struggle of a Palestinian to return to his home, now under Israel. The movie has a history half as long as the main character, the exiled Salim. Michelle told *Al Fajr* that the idea to make a film on the Palestinian question had been around since 1968. She recounts how at various points in the intervening decade-and-a-half Costa Gavras would pick up the idea and look for a way to realise it in celluloid. But the format for executing it didn't begin to take shape until writer Franco Solinas, who also scripted *The Battle of Algiers*, read a novel by Herman Melville about a character whose mere presence was enough to cause chaos and confusion. The parallels with the Palestinians struck him and in the late '70s work was started on a script for a fictional movie with the theme of a man, clearly symbolic of his people, whose recurrent presence keeps raising fundamental, and for Zionist liberals, unanswerable questions.

A field trip was made here to ensure that the legal and technical questions raised would work out and by 1981 a shooting script was prepared. Gavras, his wife says, decided to hold the project over until he had finished *Missing* — the story of an American father's attempt to discover the fate of his son who disappeared during the military coup which overthrew the Allende government in Chile in 1970 — to ensure that finance would be available for the more politically sensitive project of *Hanna K.* It was a sensible decision, for the commercial and critical success of *Missing* made Gavras, long appreciated by radicals, a 'big name' for bourgeois film financiers. So Universal, the giant US film production company, Gaumont, the biggest French film distributors, and state-owned television leapt at the chance to back a Costa Gavras movie and quickly approved the script. All was not plain sailing, however.

The first shot across the bows came from an Israeli writer reporting for the *Hollywood Reporter*. He wrote that Gavras was about to make an anti-Semitic film and that he and Universal would be responsible for the killing of Jews in synagogues after its release. Extracts were printed here just before the team arrived to start shooting and on the strength of these reports people who had agreed to cooperate started having second thoughts. Michelle lauds one woman who backed out of letting her house be used as a location but changed her mind at the last moment in order that she keep her conscience clear.

Just the idea that Costa Gavras was to turn his lens on Zionism caused many people to become uncomfortable. Michelle recalls a visit to one Israeli producer to explore the possibility of using his company for local work. "As soon as I set foot in his office he started telling me, 'You know we're not so bad' and didn't stop till I left," she remembers. The crew used a smaller and less paranoid company.

Filming was not without incident. Readers of the Israeli press will recall that the official line was that the fact Gavras was shooting at all was a test

During her recent visit to the country, Michelle Ray-Gavras, producer of her husband Costa Gavras' latest film, *Hanna K.*, gave an extended interview to *Al Fajr's* Hanna Assadi about the problems she's facing getting the film distributed in Europe and the US.

Hanna K.'s Battle to be Heard



Below, an interview by Ethi Ron'el for the Hebrew daily *Al Hamishmar* with *Hanna K.* producer Michelle Ray-Gavras.

Q: Why isn't the film *Hanna K.*, directed by your husband Costa Gavras, screened in Israel?

A: So far, the cinema owners who saw the film refused to screen it. Two of them even refused to come and see it, because they heard that the film is anti-Semitic and anti-Israeli. On the other hand, the Israeli and Palestinian journalists who saw the film said that the film is balanced and that the real situation in the country is much more severe than what was presented.

Q: What frightened them?

A: Perhaps because the film very directly addresses the Israeli conscience. The picture presents a very simple question — and perhaps because of this it is so hard to compete with it — why Salim, the Palestinian in the film, cannot return to his country. This is not connected to whether the Israelis are good or bad. The question is: why four million Palestinians cannot return to their country.

Q: Does the film take a one-sided standpoint, black and white, the good against the bad, as Costa Gavras knows how to do?

A: No. The film is significant especially because it doesn't turn on emotions. It is neither pro nor con. It presents the complexity of the situation. However, on the other hand, it doesn't raise an issue that isn't unsolvable. This isn't an aggressive film; the dialogue is spoken with a kind of detachment. The film is not like *The Battle of Algiers* — although the film script was co-written with Franco Solinas, the film script writer who also wrote *The Battle of Algiers*. From the beginning, Gavras intended to present a *Battle of Algiers* in the West Bank — but he retreated because of the dissimilarity and the complexity of the Israeli-Palestinian situation.

Q: How have Palestinians received the film?

A: From their point of view, this isn't a militant film. It doesn't present the reality of Tripoli or Beirut. However, the film raises questions — and this is what is significant from their point of view. It's very important that people look at the film without prejudice and without thinking of Gavras' other films. This is not *Missing* or *Z* — this is an honest attempt to avoid the presentation of right and wrong, and good versus bad. The film calls for a real attempt by *Hanna K.*, who represents the Israeli side in the film, for involvement through understanding Salim's identity and accepting it. (Translation: *Al Hamishmar*, January 23, 1984).

which Israeli democracy had passed. More cynically, producer Ray-Gavras says a country which is as expensive to work in as Israel would have been mad to turn away the US\$1 million they spent here. In the middle of shooting a minor disaster struck. One of the leading actors was arrested and held for three days after hashish was 'found' in his room — he didn't put it there. He was released after a replacement actor was put on 'hold' in the US by phone. If he hadn't been, Michelle now candidly admits, the whole project could have

failed.

Shooting in the deserted refugee camp of Aqbat Jabr took place against a background of warnings from the military that their lives were in danger from the few remaining residents. Strangely, the troops who were so concerned for the lives of the foreign crew left them to their 'fate' after their warnings were ignored. Michelle recalls with gratitude the hospitality of camp residents and the confusion of a French assistant director who couldn't make head-or-tail of the Israeli soldiers' warnings. One of

the things which struck foreign members of the crew was the ignorance of their Israeli colleagues of their Palestinian neighbours. "One of the producers was invited to drink coffee in a Hebron home while looking for locations," Michelle points out. "He went on about that cup of coffee for weeks afterwards. I eventually got so bored and told him to shut up about it. Most of the Israelis had no contact with Palestinians whatsoever."

And in France

With Israel patting itself on the back for allowing the film to be made here, the final cut was taken for release in Paris and here the mish-mash of political and artistic criticism reared its head. The story is basically the same everywhere but with subtle nuances. In France, 500 journalists were invited to a press showing. "They left saying basically 'This film is a bomb under Israel,'" says Michelle. "We thought, 'Good, so now the political debate will begin.'" She was wrong: "Reviewers simply ignored the content of the film and their own reactions and came out with dismissive statements such as: 'Gavras made a the film,' or 'We don't understand what he's trying to say'."

On hearing from a friend in one of the leading left wing magazines that their reviewer had returned saying "We're going to kill this film," Michelle called the editor to invite him to a personal screening. His response was that he'd heard that the film was no good. Pressed to see it and make up his own mind, he hedged and said he'd call back. The Gavras' are still waiting. The same magazine had commissioned Mahmoud Darwish to write an article taking the movie as his theme; the article never appeared and no other publication has taken it.

Gaumont tried to insinuate that they had been misled into backing the film and, opines the producer, were distressed to find the film precisely matched the script they had in their filing cabinet. The film was guaranteed a showing at Gaumont cinemas but every day theatres showing it received bomb threats. Police eventually took to telling owners not to worry and go ahead, regardless.

French TV had commissioned a television documentary about the making of *Hanna K.* It has never been shown. "At first they said it was 'too early' (to screen it) and then they said it's 'too late'," notes Michelle.

In the US, a Universal tour that was to have encompassed New York, Boston, Washington, Chicago and San Francisco was dropped at the last moment and a two-week run in New York substituted. Similar notices were received. Costa Gavras gave scores of interviews to journalists and critics and began to notice a common thread. "They would come in and say that while they didn't have political objections, a friend or relative had seen the film and thought it was anti-Israeli. After a while we took side bets as to whether the writer we were about to see would have a cousin, sister, neighbour, etc., who'd spotted anti-Israeli angle!"

Michelle had to take out US\$50,000 worth of advertising personally in *The New York Times* after Universal backed out and even forbade her to use the ads they had prepared for the film. In Germany, the Gavras' commercial distributor told director and producer he "felt like he had cancer." It's his speculation that cinema owners will not show the film even if they were paid to do it. Other European countries are being approached at the moment; similar results are expected.

continued on page 15

The Soil Appeal

by Hanna Ibrahim

The first rags of dawn appeared, but slumber had only rarely visited Yusef Abed's eyelids. Another terrible night passed. Yusef still battles with the life which no longer suits him and neither is he fit for it. Mutanabi was right when he said:

"It is disturbing to see death as curable and sufficient, for the fate of death to be seen as an aspiration."

Of course, our friend does not wish to die for the sake of death itself but as an escape from his dreadful reality.

There is no more terrible end than the end of a vagabond dog. He never imagined that his childless first wife would die before him. He remembers people who advised him to divorce her saying, "It is very hard for a human being to die alone, without offspring." He thought that at least his wife would be near him during his death throes.

The dawn, however, brought to him a serene feeling mixed with joyful sadness. It is not saddening to die with other people in the camp which the war has destroyed and to cast a final look at your only daughter and her children.

Last night a strange idea had come into his mind: to climb a mountain near the borders and to cast a final glance at the lost paradise and then die in peace. Something like this occurred to Moses. But there's a difference between him and prophets. His ideas dimmed. The night's chill reminded him of his dreadful loneliness.

He thought of the disasters since the war began last summer. He wished he was at home when Israeli bombers completely destroyed his house. His body shook to remember how he collected the remains of his wife's body from under the rubble. He managed to reach his youngest son only one second before his death. The youngest son cried faintly, "My father..." and gazed at him in a strange manner. The final sight of his son still tormented him. He did not like to look at the family albums. But is it possible to dismiss the picture from the mind?

Three months later his eldest son died in Acre Hospital after the Sabra and Shatila massacre. His second son was arrested after a mine exploded under a military jeep on the coastal road. The Israelis took revenge by uprooting all the trees. He suffered a major heart attack.

Yusef Abed's flow of thought was interrupted by light knocks on the broken door. Who is the visitor? His daughter Halimeh does not usually come as early as dawn. The visitor did not wait for permission to come in.

"Good morning, Uncle Yusef," the visitor said gently. The visitor added that his son was still alive and that he had managed to escape from prison. The visitor handed him an envelope containing US\$1000. He left after telling the old man he should keep the visit secret.

That evening his daughter Halimeh came with her limping husband and children. The house was spirited with motion and life.

Old man Yusef was deep in his own thoughts. "Life is a gamble," he told himself. "Sometimes you lose and sometimes you win, but the final loss comes at the end."

Halimeh did not notice the change in her father's appearance at first glance. She attempted to look happy. "Look, father," she said, "this is a permit to go to a hospital in Israel." She gave him the permit. "It seems that the military governor is good. He speaks Arabic well."



It is disturbing to see death as curable and sufficient, for the fate of death to be seen as an aspiration.

Yusef attempted to interrupt her, but she continued: "Tomorrow, Abu Elias will come to take you to the hospital for a two or three day stay until you recover."

"Oh daughter, it is useless. I want to die at home in peace."

"Don't mention death, father. You'll see my brother Halim married and also see his children before that."

"Oh daughter."

"No, father. You never cared about your own life. Do you want us not to care about you?" Tears flooded her eyes and the old man smiled and patted her shoulder.

"Your brother is still alive and he sent me US\$1000." He tried to persuade his daughter to take the money but she refused. He persuaded her to take US\$500. Finally, the old man agreed to go to the Israeli hospital and that night

Halimeh made a splendid supper and stayed late into the night.

The next day everything went well, according to her plans. Halimeh had become experienced at visiting her husband who was wounded in the leg by an Israeli soldier's stray bullet.

It was a warm autumn day. The hospital was full of visitors and patients, but things were not as usual. There was a partial strike. Unable to get in, Yusef slept in the hospital garden for two hours.

Abu Elias came that evening to take him back to Lebanon. Yusef refused, insisting that he wanted to visit relatives after 35 years in exile. After failing to re-enter the hospital, Yusef Abed rented a car which carried him to his native village. He was silent in the car, only repeating the word "age" whenever he saw the changes in the country.

The arid hills were covered with pleasant well-lit buildings. He did not need to ask the driver to identify Israeli settlements. Even his village was changed. There was electricity and streets were asphalted.

The car stopped near a long-haired young man and the old man asked for the house of the blessed Jamil Abed. The young man replied, "But you will not find them at home."

"Where are they?"

"In Acre. They went to a wedding there."

"A wedding. Where will I find them?"

"In Olam."

"What is this Olam?"

The driver interrupted. "I will take you there. Don't worry."

The old man had imagined his return to the village would be different. He imagined that all the village residents would have come to visit him. He was disappointed and thought for a moment that he should get out and shout, "I am Yusef Abed, son of Jamil Abed. Do you forget me?"

The car stopped at the entrance of a two-storey building. People entered it in groups and singly and seemed happy as if there was no war or calamities. Yusef slowly began to climb the stairs. He felt tired and had a sharp pain in his chest. He backed himself against a parapet and tried to hold the pain in his chest. A man and a well-made-up woman passed him. They did not take any notice of him and rushed into the hall to congratulate the couple.

He had to sit down immediately or he would die. He sighed deeply and sadly. A well-dressed and perfumed man approached him.

"Do you need help, uncle?"

The old man pointed to the medicine in his pocket. The man helped him to sit on the stair, took the medicine and picked up a US\$100 note.

"Should I call a doctor for you?"

"No, no. There is no need."

The man gave him back the note.

"Take it. It is my wedding gift," the old man said.

Meanwhile, people had surrounded them. A doctor was among the guests. He examined him. Unfortunately, Yusef Abed died, repeating, "Praise God. I died after returning to my country."

The question which remained unanswered was "Who is the dead person?" The bridegroom did not recognise this alleged uncle. The police were called and the body was taken to a hospital. After a short time the visitors forgot the incident.

They found out the identity of the old man later. Yusef Abed was more fortunate than the prophet Moses. He saw his country and was buried in it.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

Local papers concentrated this week on the closing of Bir Zeit University, the attacks on al-Aqsa Mosque, the fighting in Lebanon and the Jordanian parliament meetings.

The closure of the old campus at Bir Zeit University was given the top spot in all local papers and so were the continued reactions to the aborted attempt to blow up al-Aqsa Mosque.

The fierce fighting in Lebanon was a lead story in *Al Sha'ab* and the Jordanian parliament meetings were given wide coverage in *Al Quds*.

Reagan the Candidate

US President Ronald Reagan announced yesterday his candidacy for a second term as US president. He said he wanted to finish what he started during three years in office at the White House.

The truth is Reagan did not start anything three years ago. He was only continuing the official aggressive US policies. If he can be given the credit for starting anything, that will be escalating this aggression by increasing world tension, speeding up the arms race, establishing the image of the American cowboy and dragging the world to the brink of a nuclear war.

We also know that Reagan's opponents for the presidency in November do not differ from him. This is because the leading candidates in the American elections are usually members of the governing body of the Democratic and Republican parties, which are not so different.

We may hear in the coming weeks and months some of America's Arabs saying that Reagan will be more able to move and take effective measures to resolve this region's conflicts during his second term. This is because, they will explain, Reagan will not be tied up by any new elections because no American president can stay in office more than two terms in a row.

This ridicule aside, we should be more alert to a very important issue that resulted from Reagan's announcement to run again. According to the American imperialist logic, any military adventure abroad will become an election campaign issue, and the blood of the poor will be used to win the American voters, whose support for Reagan increased following the invasion of Grenada.

All this means that Washington may carry on a big military adventure in Lebanon. The Arab countries should keep this issue in mind.

AL SHA'AB
January 31

The Time Factor

The circumstances, challenges and realities have forced everyone working for a solution

to the Palestinian cause to consider the time factor as the most important and decisive factor. This is because in the Middle East, only Israel is moving while the Arab world is fast asleep.

Racing with time is not just rhetoric for the residents of the occupied Arab territories. With every day and hour that passes, a new reality is created pressuring the residents to hurry the hour of salvation and anxiously wait for any light of hope from here or there.

It is clear the Palestinian-Jordanian meeting will not occur in the coming few days. But even though time is very important, a few days or weeks will not change much if they are used for preparation and coordination.

Therefore, continuing the contacts and intensifying efforts to reach a common ground can make the mission of both leaderships much easier and at the end bring them together.

The whole world is looking at the Palestinian-Jordanian moves as the right step in finding a solution for the Palestinian problem. In the absence of any Arab moves, the interests of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation are best served by allowing the forthcoming meeting between the two leaderships to succeed.

AL QUDS
February 1

Participating in Aggression

Those who bury their heads in the sand trying to ignore the implications of the imperialist aggression in this region and who deny that there are Arabs participating in this aggression, have to take a better look at those who are demanding that the American contingent in Lebanon stay there, supporting by this Reagan's views in relation to the growing internal opposition and going against the Lebanese nationalists and their supporters in this region and the world in general.

No one can pass over the timing of statements by Amin Gemayel and King Hussein and those of Yitzhak Shamir as the campaign against the continued presence of the American forces in Lebanon intensifies. They also coincide with the Israeli-

American threats against Syria, and the accusation that Syrian, Iranian and Palestinian officers planned the destruction of the Marine headquarters in Beirut.

It was obvious that Reagan wanted to use voices from this region and to fabricate stories against those who oppose his policies, to justify the continued presence of the Marines there and to cover up the real role the Marines are playing in fighting the Lebanese nationalists and aiding the Phalangists.

It is obvious also that those who support the presence of the Marines there, naturally support the policy of the imperialist aggression against the Arab liberation movements in order for them to hegemonize the region. By doing this, these officials are offering their services to help this policy succeed at the expense of their countries' independence and the right of the Palestinian people for self-determination.

AL TALIA
February 2

Gunpowder

We smell in this region the powder of a fire that may engulf Israel, Lebanon and Syria at least.

We interpret what the Phalangist propaganda is saying these days about Syrian military moves in the Beqa'a as an attempt to pressure American public opinion to stop asking for the immediate withdrawal of the Marines from Lebanon.

It is our right to ask, based on previous experiences, what is hidden behind what the Israeli official media are doing by repeating this Phalangist exaggeration. We know that Israel did not want the Marines to leave and has always pressured the Reagan administration to increase the Marines presence in Lebanon.

We fear that the recent statements by Israel's premier threaten an actual confrontation with Syria. The report last night that Israeli army reserves will be called up sometime soon adds to this fear.

Therefore, it was no coincidence that there is an increase in popular opposition to the Israeli army presence in Lebanon demanding its withdrawal. We expect that this opposition will increase.

It is known that the official Israeli diplomacy relies on the noise of its arms to pressure any Arab country. Maybe the Israeli officials believe that by using this method they can break the Syrian and Lebanese nationalist positions.

We believe the policy of 'on the brink of war' has exhausted itself, not only globally but also in our region, because of the Soviet weight in confronting this policy.

We also believe that the Israeli officials have to get rid of the idea that they have freedom of movement in Lebanon. If they continue to believe this it will eventually lead to war.

The Israeli officials are insisting that if they leave Lebanon, the surrender agreement should be implemented. It is obvious now that this agreement is the obstacle to peace and harmony in Lebanon. Israel's rulers should pull out their forces from Lebanon so that peace can prevail there once again.

AL ITTIHAD
February 3

Closure of Minds

We believe there is no difference between closing the old Bir Zeit University campus or the whole university by the military government. The old campus has 1400 students in the colleges of Arts and Commerce. It also includes the university's most vital services, without which any academic activity is impossible.

To close the university for three months is intended to destroy the infrastructure of higher education in the occupied lands. Regardless of the reason, the military authorities should not take such a measure. The students, in fact, did nothing that led to the closure of the university.

We urge all the conscientious people to immediately intervene with the authorities to persuade them to rescind this decision.

AL FAJR
February 3

The Lebanese Example

No matter how much we

talk about Lebanon we will never give it what it deserves. After the 1982 war in Lebanon, the imperialist propaganda tools started saying that by expelling the Palestinian fighters, the war would end and the eight-year-long suffering of the Lebanese people would come to an end.

Did they speak the truth? Has the Phalange party ever been able through its alliance with Israel and the US to steer the Lebanese boat ashore?

The war has started again fiercer than before, at the rate of 20 missiles a second. This is not the first outbreak of war and will not be the last, even though they expelled the "terrorists", installed Amin Gemayel as a legitimate representative, signed the forbidden agreements, sat at a round table in Geneva, allocated money for rebuilding Lebanon and Beirut and brought in a multi-national force to restore "peace."

What peace did they restore? What legitimacy controls the future of Lebanon? What table can overcome the difficult problems?

Lebanon is the example that no one can jump over or whose bloody revolutionary experience no one can forget. It is not easy for the Lebanese people and its nationalist forces to give up what they have already won.

The "Peace for Galilee" campaign, in which Israel used all of its resources when it invaded Lebanon, brought disaster not only to the Israeli society, but also to Begin, Shamir and Eitan. With every day that goes by they hear more bad news that reminds them of the campaign.

As for Reagan's enthusiasm which drew with it the American government, as well as the French, British and Italians to restore peace to Lebanon after Israel has finished its mission in "cleaning" Lebanon, which also included the Sabra and Shatila massacres: Lebanon is now letting them know that they were dreaming.

Lebanon is the lesson, the example and the stubborn people which will not rest before it repels all its enemies, with only one simple difference; entering the conflict is not like leaving it.

AL MITHAQ
February 4



Academics Rally Behind Arab Students at Beer Sheva

An Israeli professor and a number of other academics are protesting the violation of Arab students' academic freedom at Beer Sheva University, in the Naqab.

Uri Regab, an economics professor at the university, sent a letter to Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens, February 1, complaining of the spate of town arrests, confiscation of books and arbitrary arrests of Arab students at the university during the past two months. Members of the Negev Civil Rights Association have distributed circulars about the situation of Arab students at the university and are collecting signatures of protesting academicians.

In his letter, Professor Regab argues strongly in defence of Asi Atrash, an MA student who has been forced to abandon his studies after he was placed under town arrest last December 28. Atrash, who heads the Arab students union, was employed by Beer Sheva University as an assistant to professor Regab.

Asi Atrash, a resident of

the Tiberias district village of Daburiyya, spoke to *Al Fajr* about the problems that led to his restriction.

"Last November, Israeli police and university security people raided Arab students' rooms at the university looking for banned books and Palestinian flags." When they reached Atrash's room, the police found nothing but arrested him and held him for 48 hours.

When the Israeli security officials tried to extend Atrash's detention on charges of possession of illegal books, the Israeli judge refused because of lack of evidence and ordered his immediate release, he reports.

A month later, at midnight on December 28, policemen came again to Atrash's room, this time to deliver a six-month town arrest order restricting him to his home village. Before leaving the university, Atrash apologised to Professor Regab that he could not continue working. Regab promised to do all he could to guarantee Atrash's return to the university. Asi Atrash now has to

report to the local police station at 9:00 am and 4:00 pm to prove his presence in the village.

The head of the Arab students union was unable to explain the reasons behind the town arrest except to say that it was "part of the Israeli plans to harass Arab students." At the time of his restriction, the Beer Sheva University Arab students union was in the middle of negotiations with the dean of students regarding complaints of discrimination by the university administration against them. Atrash told *Al Fajr* that the Israeli university has granted scholarships to only three percent of the Arab students and that more than 50 percent of the Arab students have not been granted dormitory places. Atrash also noted that the Arab student body has hosted lectures on political issues, "all within the university rules and regulations," he said.

Asi Atrash insists on his right to return to the university and said that his town arrest "will not change his political views."

Greenzweig Memorial Becomes Anti-war Rally

An estimated 50,000 demonstrators joined a silent march called by Peace Now, February 4, to mark the first anniversary of the death of Emil Greenzweig. The demonstrators, many carrying blazing torches, gathered at West Jerusalem's Ben Yehuda Street and marched the route to the Israeli prime minister's office where Greenzweig died when a hand grenade was thrown into a crowd of demonstrators.

Police and units of the border guards shadowed the march for its whole length and a special operations room was established to monitor the event. Plainclothes police joined the march. There were no incidents, although young boys did distribute leaflets from the fascist 'Kach' movement and an elderly Orthodox religious person cursed marchers. Organisers and police announced before the march their determination that there would be no repetition of last year's events when police stood by as demonstrators were spat on and assaulted.

Demonstrators carried placards calling for an end to settlements in the occupied territories and for Israeli terror groups to be apprehended. Posters bearing the photograph of the dead Peace Now demonstrator were much in evidence. A large contingent from Yesh Gvul (There is a Limit), the organisation of opponents to military service in Lebanon, took part in the march.

Organisers said 50,000 people joined the protest. Western journalists put the number at nearer 40,000.

Outside Yitzhak Shamir's office, movement spokesperson Tsali Reshef criticised the Likud government's settlement policy and called for an end to the war in Lebanon.

Local labour movement politicians also spoke, including West Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek, who called it the largest demonstration in the city's history and warned that "terror from within" — a reference to Israeli terrorism — could undermine Israeli rule in Jerusalem.

Rabbi Hirsch Not Guilty of Flag Dishonour

"We don't consider their laws (binding) but their laws consider us (correct). I don't know what Rahamin Comfort (Jerusalem police commandant) will do now. He will not be able to call me in every third day ... If I'm asked anything relating to the flag of Israel, I'll respond in the manner that now has received legal authority." This was the comment of Moshe Hirsch, the 'foreign minister' of the (Neturei Karta) Orthodox community, after charges against him were dismissed last week in the Jerusalem magistrate court.

Hirsch was charged with offending the honour of the national flag because of things he said two-and-a-half years ago.

A local newspaper quoted him saying, "all the flags that are raised on 'independence day' are *shmattes* (rag) flags and blue and white rags."

In the course of the trial, Hirsch denied that he said such things but the judge decided to believe the testimony of the journalist who interviewed him. Hirsch's lawyer, Hanna Hovav, claimed that the flag's honour is not offended by words. Something needs to be done in order to express it.

Magistrate Miryam Na'or quoted the American Constitution relating to freedom of speech and retired High Court judge Haim Cohen in her decision: "It's a major rule in our juridical system that a person is not to be

punished in any way because of a view they maintain or for its expression." The judge also stated that there are restrictions on freedom of speech, which is not a "definite unrestricted right, but a relative right that might be reduced."

Hirsch's opinion about the flag was expressed in the framework of a column that included his views on 'independence day.' Hirsch wrote then that the state's independence is imaginary and that it is fitting to make it a day of fasting and mourning. He added that Neturei Karta raises black flags in the place of Israeli flags and then used the expression "rags and *shmattes*." (Translation: Kol Yerushalayim, January 27, 1984).

port his plans in the opposite direction. Now he has no other choice but to leave the field. This, in a nutshell, is the message brought home to Gemayel by the vast majority of the Lebanese people through the last developments in Beirut. This is the meaning of the insurrection of the Lebanese people.

A bomb exploded near a "civil guard" position, February 2, in the village of Fileh, 12 kilometres north of Nabatiya, according to these sources. No injuries were reported.

Israeli troops were attacked in the village of Adasiyeh the same day. The attackers fired automatic weapons from a speeding car.

The third acknowledged attack occurred on February 1, in central Sidon.

Israeli Premier Yitzhak Shamir said, February 5, that Israel has entered "the final stage of the Lebanon war" and that its army will pull out soon.

Shamir, speaking on French television, linked withdrawal to "security guarantees" but made no mention of a reciprocal Syrian pull-out.



Anti-Lebanon war demonstrators release doves in the Emil Greenzweig Park outside the Israeli Prime Minister's office February 5. The sign reads: "The Lebanon war — a strange war in a strange land for alien goals."

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

WHAT'S MISSING? WHAT'S HAPPENING!

Visitors and locals buy *Al Fajr* Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly for news of the occupied territories. Many important and enjoyable events pass by unnoticed simply because there are no avenues of advertisement available to announce them. *Al Fajr* will change this, starting February 15, by offering FREE advertisement space to groups, institutions and individuals who want to let people know what's happening.

Ads must be no more than 25 words in length and be at *Al Fajr* English offices no later than Friday each week to be published the following Wednesday. They may be submitted in person at our 2 Hatem Ta'ee Street office or by phoning 281035. Call or stop by today and let us know what you are planning.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of the censorship report for issue 197, February 8, 1984:

Number of original articles submitted to censors	20
Number of articles totally censored out	3
Number of articles partially censored (not used)	3
Number of articles passed	14

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Insurrection

that the vast resistance front is able to respond to Amin Gemayel's panicking efforts to gain time through attempts to constitute a new government and/or reconvene the Geneva "National Reconciliation" conference "without any preconditions" with an outright 'no'.

Amin was given ample chance to prove himself as "a president of all the Lebanese" by abrogating the Lebanese-Israeli accord and foregoing the Phalangist hegemonic design over Lebanon. He has consciously missed his chance, hoping that the Western MNF forces would actively sup-

port to Israeli reports. No further details were given.

Quoting *The Voice of Arab Lebanon*, Al Itihad said the national resistance forces killed or wounded more Israelis in an operation against a position near government offices in Sidon. The *Voice of Arab Lebanon* confirmed the Nabatiya attack.

Earlier, Israeli newspapers reported that, one soldier was wounded, February 5, when a military vehicle overturned during an ambush near the village of Jezzine. The soldier was hospitalised for treatment as Israeli reinforcements mounted a manhunt for the attackers. No arrests were reported.

The Israeli press reported three other attacks against the Israeli army and Israeli-backed "civil guard" groups in the south-

continued from page 4

S. Lebanon

diers returned fire but no attacker was hit. The two soldiers, described as being lightly wounded, were transferred by helicopter to Haifa's Rambam Hospital.

At around 7:00 am, less than one hour after the Sarafand attack, a second convoy was rocket-attacked in Sidon. The Israeli Communist Party daily *Al Itihad* said no report of casualties was given as Israeli troops sealed off the area and prevented journalists from getting in. In a third attack the same day, a rocket-propelled grenade was fired at a patrol in Nabatiya, accom-

WEEKLY REVIEW

January 29, 1984

CAR BURNT IN BETHLEHEM

BETHLEHEM — Unknown arsonists set ablaze a car owned by Jamal Sheikh, a resident of Bethlehem. Sheikh is handicapped and has been detained several times because of his activities as a unionist.

TRAVEL RESTRICTION LIFTED

Israel Radio said the travel restriction imposed on Tulkarm camp was lifted.

January 30, 1984

CASUALTIES FIGURE WRONG, OFFICER CHARGES

JERUSALEM — The official Israeli casualty figure for the war in Lebanon is much more than 565, according to an Israeli officer quoted in *Al Itihad*.

The officer, who served in Lebanon, said at a demonstration at Ras al-Naqurah demanding the withdrawal of the Israeli army from Lebanon that no one mentions the figure of those who are killed when their vehicles overturn in battle or on other occasions.

POET BURIED IN CAIRO

CAIRO — Palestinian poet Mu'in Beiso was buried in Cairo. His funeral was attended by a large number of people and Egyptian and Palestinian officials. The Israeli military refused to allow Beiso to be buried in his hometown of Gaza.

CURFEW LIFTED

NABLUS — A curfew imposed on the Old City of Nablus since Sunday night was lifted. It was imposed following violent demonstrations against the Israeli occupiers, during which an 18-year-old youth was shot dead.

FACTORY DESTROYED

TEL AVIV — Yediot Aharanot said a tile factory owned by a settler from Kiryat Arba was vandalised and all its contents damaged. The identity of the perpetrators was not known.

COST OF TRAVEL PERMITS UP

The Israeli 'civil administration' in the West Bank has decided to increase the cost of travel permits for the Jordan River bridges by 25-30 percent.

BOOK BANNED

TUBAS — A book written by Yahyah Tawfiq Hassan, the principle of A'aba Preparatory School

near Jenin, called *Living is an Art (Al-Hayyah Fan)* has been banned from distribution in the West Bank.

FIREBOMB IN DHEISHEH

DHEISHEH — A firebomb was thrown last night at the house of Ibrahim Sarfandi from Dheisheh camp, setting the house on fire. Israeli border guards are investigating the attack.

COUNCIL CALLS FOR RESUMPTION OF STUDIES

HEBRON — A student meeting was held at the Polytechnic Institute in Hebron to discuss the results of the strike in effect now for 10 days. Student council members urged students to return to classes.

EXPLOSION NEAR ARMY POST

Al Hamishmar said an explosive device went off near an Israeli army post at Jabaliya refugee camp in Gaza. It said no one was hurt in the explosion.

ARAB CARS STONED

JERUSALEM — Several Arab-owned cars were stoned near Dheisheh refugee camp. Passengers in the cars said they saw Israeli settlers stoning their cars. They said the settlers then got on a bus and drove away accompanied by an Israeli army patrol.

January 31, 1984

BIR ZEIT CURFEW LIFTED

BIR ZEIT — Bir Zeit town was curfewed from the afternoon to 8:30 pm following student demonstrations in protest against the killing of 18-year-old Nablus youth Nasser Sarisi and the continuous attacks on Muslim and Christian holy places.

PETROL BOMB IN NABLUS

Israel Radio said a petrol bomb was thrown at Israeli soldiers near Nablus City Hall. It said no one was hurt in the attack. The military searched the area for attackers, the radio said.

TAWJIHI START TODAY

More than 13,000 students start today their first semester general matriculation *tawjihi* exams in the West Bank.

POLICE RAID KUFR KANNA

NAZARETH — Israeli police and border guards raided several houses in Kufr Kanna, in the Galilee, Monday night under the pretext of searching for arms. Three village residents were arrested but later two of them

were released. The third is still in detention.

RELIEF COMMITTEES INTERIM STATEMENT

JERUSALEM — In a statement reviewing its work, the Union of West Bank Medical Relief Committees said they organised 70 medical days in several West Bank villages and refugee camps during the second half of 1983. Hundreds of patients were treated. The statement said the union will issue a study in the near future on its findings during the medical outings.

WATER PRICES UP

Water prices went up by 8.4 percent following the increase in electric costs beginning this month. Public transportation costs will rise by 15 percent.

BANNED FROM WEST BANK

ACRE — Jamal Musa, member of the *Histadrut* Executive Committee, and Ahmad Abu Shanab, member of the Acre Workers Council, were banned yesterday by the Israeli police from entering the West Bank.



Two hundred students from UNRWA-run vocational institutes demonstrated, January 31, at the agency's Jerusalem headquarters against the imposition of the Jordanian comprehensive exam./AO photo

and Wadi Hassanien, all from Jalazon camp, near Ramallah, were sentenced to two-and-a-half years jail with 18 months suspended. Other camp residents were also imprisoned. Mohammed Baddawi was also given a two-and-a-half year jail term with an equal term suspended. Omar Nakhleh received 15 months in jail and an equal term suspended. Nabil Hassanien was

Land Registration Office in Jenin, Mustafa A'shour, was ordered to retire, as of February 1. A'shour previously resigned from the Israeli-appointed Jenin municipal committee.

February 2, 1984

CAMP ROADS TO OPEN

DHEISHEH — An Israeli military



Members of the Arab Journalists Union met, February 3, to discuss revisions in the union's constitution./AO photo

February 1, 1984

MORE SETTLEMENTS PLANNED

JERUSALEM — Israel plans to establish 27 new settlements in the West Bank, Gaza, the Galilee and the Golan and to expand the existing settlements, according to *Al Fajr*. Twenty of the settlements will be built in the West Bank and the Galilee, two in Gaza and five in the Golan.

JAIL FOR MEMBERSHIP

RAMALLAH — Three Am'ari residents were jailed for membership in a Palestinian organisation. Khamis Abd al-Muhsin was given two years and Sufian Dasouqi and Usama Nijm were each given five months. All three were given equal suspended terms.

All Nakhleh, Jamal Zaid, Hassan Hadieth, Khalil Zaid

ordered held for 75 days. All were found guilty of membership in a Palestinian organisation and preparing Molotov cocktails.

BASIC FOOD COSTS UP

TEL AVIV — The price of Israeli government subsidised foodstuffs went up by 14 percent.

TAXES REDUCED

JERUSALEM — The Jerusalem Chamber of Commerce received a notice from the Israeli Jerusalem municipality that city taxes will not increase this year as planned. The notice said the amount of taxes for this year will remain the same as last year.

DIRECTOR ORDERED TO RETIRE

JENIN — The director of the

official said blocked roads in Dheisheh refugee camp, near Bethlehem, will be reopened when a ring-road is finished. All the camp's entrances were sealed by the Israeli military on the pretext of curtailing rock-throwing in Israeli vehicles.

BEIT SAHOUR FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES

BEIT SAHOUR — Mayor of Beit Sahour Hanna Atrash said his municipality has not been able to pay its employees' salaries for January because of Israeli measures that bar the town from using money deposited in its bank account or bringing in more money from Jordan.

Israel allows money to come from outside only if it is done through the Israeli Development Fund, which is also used for building settlements in the West Bank.

POTATO WAR CONTINUES

WEST BANK — West Bank potato growers are complaining that the Israeli military has cut the list of farmers to receive potato seedlings for this season. The Israeli military dominates the seedling market.

Al Fajr Arabic reported that farmers, many of whom depend on potato growing for their livelihood, may go to court to force the military government to supply them with plants.

MAYOR WANTS PHONE BACK

QALQILYA — Elected Mayor of Qalqilya Amin Nasr has asked that his telephone be reconnected. It was disconnected 10 days ago for no stated reason.

STUDENTS SLAM TAWJIHI

WEST BANK — Many *tawjihi* students have complained at the difficulty of the mathematics exam questions for this year. They said the questions are very long and there was insufficient time to answer them.

The first round of *tawjihi* exams started Wednesday.

February 3, 1984

HOURS RESTRICTED

GAZA — Storeowners at Jabalya refugee camp have been ordered by the military government to close their shops by 5:00 pm daily.

DOCTORS TRANSFERRED

BETHLEHEM — The officer in charge of health services in the West Bank ordered the transfer of Dr. Abd al-Aziz Shuqir from the Ramallah health department to Bethlehem and Dr. Na'im Sarsour from Bethlehem to Hebron.



The Higher Islamic Council in session in Jerusalem, February 4, to discuss the aborted attempt to blow up al-Aqsa Mosque. Measures to increase protection of the mosque area were also considered. /AO photo

This is the second transfer for both physicians within three months. Dr. Shuqir is an elected member of Hebron City Council.

STUDENTS RELEASED TOO LATE

NABLUS — Three Nablus students arrested earlier this week were released, but too late to sit for the general *tawjihi* (matriculation) exams.

Tawjihi candidates must take all exams to graduate. The spring exam series started on Wednesday.

WOMEN'S GROUPS DEFINE STAND

AL-BIREH — Palestinian women's groups from the West Bank and Gaza met at Jamal Abd al-Nasser Mosque in al-Bireh to discuss the situation of Palestinian society and women's role in it. A statement was issued following the meeting expressing support for the PLO and denouncing Jordanian interference in Palestinian affairs.

MOSQUE ALERT

JERUSALEM — The Islamic Higher Committee in Jerusalem held a meeting to discuss the recent aborted attack on al-Aqsa Mosque. The meeting also discussed measures to increase protection around the mosque area, including increasing the number of guards.

NATIONAL BLOC WINS UNION

The National Bloc won all nine seats on the administrative committee of the Union of Hotel and Restaurant Workers in Jerusalem.

February 4, 1983

DOCTOR'S REINSTATEMENT URGED

NAZARETH — Lawyer Walid Fahoum, from Nazareth, sent a message to the Israeli officer in charge of health asking him to

reinstate Nablus physician Jihad Awnallah at Rafidiya Hospital in the city.

Awnallah was barred from work after he was charged with hiding a bullet he had extracted from the body of a Nablus woman killed by a settler on July 26, 1983. He was acquitted by a military court, January 16.

14 NEW MINI-SETTLEMENTS

TEL AVIV — The director of the settlement department in the Jewish Agency, Matityahu Drobless, asked in a letter he sent to the Israeli premier that instead of building regular settlements in the West Bank, 14 mini-settlements be erected. The suggestion follows recent budget cuts.

February 5, 1984

GAZA EXPORTS TO KUWAIT

GAZA — A delegation representing the Union of Citrus Growers

in Gaza asked the Kuwaiti government to import their citrus.

The delegation, which is expected back in Gaza today, has also visited Egypt and met with officials there to seek help in marketing their products in the Arab countries.

COLLEGE STUDENTS AGAINST OUTSIDE CONTROL

NABLUS — Students of two-year colleges appealed for local support in their fight against the Jordanian-enforced comprehensive exams. A statement published by the students says they are not against the exams *per se* but because these exams in particular put them "under the control of forces that are not interested in our education and progress."

POOR FAMILIES AIDED

JERUSALEM — The social committee of the Young Men's Muslim Association in Ram distributed clothes and material aid to poor families in that area.

UNION NEWS

JERUSALEM — Five local unions have moved their headquarters from the Columbia building on Nablus Road to the former Young Men's Muslim Association offices on Salah al-Din Street, in the al-Sharif building.

NO ENTRY TO WEST BANK

SHAFAT AMR — A Shafat Amr resident, Ahmad Hamdi, was banned from entering the occupied West Bank for one year starting February 2. Hamdi's movement has been restricted for 10 years now.

Another Galilean, Faisal Abu Yunis, member of the Sakhnin town council, was also banned from entering the West Bank. This is the 13th such order Abu Yunis has received since 1967.

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Battle to be Heard

In Israel the film went in mid-January to military censorship. So far there have been no takers for the distribution rights. The owner of Tel Aviv's most prestigious art-film cinema is already on record railing against the film at a Cannes showing. He doesn't want it. Two owners in Tel Aviv refused even to watch the film and two others walked out abusing the makers after seeing about half of it. An owner in Haifa saw the film and said she loved it! Asked when she wanted to put it in her theatre she replied, "You must be mad." Israel television has been offered a cheap screening. A reply is expected.

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Ambiguous

tively leniently in consideration of the embarrassment that the press might have caused the government. It's unfortunate that something like the real face of Israeli law and court procedures couldn't have been exhibited in more detail. No reason, other than that Israelis

Reporters who cover the occupied territories were invited to a special screening of the movie in Jerusalem in mid-January. So far (with the exception of *Al Fajr*, see review last week) none of the reporters who rushed away at the end have put pen to paper. One *Al Hamishmar* journalist who hasn't seen the film did do an interview with Michelle about the distribution problems the movie is facing (see box). It's very easy to slip into a conspiracy theory when faced with such odds. But perhaps a little exaggerated. There is one organization, however, out to get the film.

The Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith distributed a memorandum to all its regional offices in October 1983 with a call to branches to use the information it contains if positive reviews appear in their local press. The six-page

had successfully created 'irreversible facts', was given for the hopelessness of Salim's possibly genuine goal. I say 'possibly' because Salim's character was so clothed in mystery that it wasn't at all apparent that to visit his family home was his goal or his only goal. I criticise the mist that obscures the character and his movements. The

document reveals both Zionist paranoia of any criticism and the inability of the movement to articulate a political critique of Gavras' work. The memorandum ignores politics completely and breaks its criticism into three blocks: 'implications' — where six points in the film's disfavour are raised; 'inaccuracies' — three points (but unfortunately they rely on an inaccurate interpretation of the film: two deal with the location of Salim's village and are anyway mutually contradictory, the third with the date of a Quranic inscription); and 'ironies' — two points (indeed a grave area for a political artist to stray into). The ADL document is pathetic. To attack a film for being anti-Semitic because it shows a Jewish lawyer taking money to defend a client reveals the state of modern Zionist advocacy in the West. That they try to

mystery was, however, not incompatible with a great deal of the unanswerable questions which cropped up and for which the spectator would quite possibly have provided incorrect answers.

Perhaps the film would have been more interesting if around the role of the 'hero' (i.e. Hanna K.), the baby, her French husband and the father of her

use the fact that lawyer Felicia Langer has 'countless' cases as somehow showing that the state of the law in Israel and the occupied territories is not under rigid political control shows the depths to which they are willing to go. Copies of the ADL memorandum should be printed and distributed with the tickets at every showing.

The right to see *Hanna K.* should certainly become a battle in itself. Director Costa Gavras put it in these words on hearing from Michelle the advice of Hollywood producer that he was "worth millions" and should "forget *Hanna K.*": "It's unfair that we should succeed to be listened to when for 40 years no one has listened to the Palestinians... but the Palestinians exist, and now the film exists too."

baby, the district attorney, there had been created another typical Israeli dilemma, the one about the inheritance of religion and qualification for nationality which might have related well to Salim's case.

M.P. Allen
Jerusalem

On January 28, an anti-discrimination Arab-Jewish conference, the largest since the establishment of Israel, was held in the Arab city of Nazareth. The conference was initiated and organised by Nazareth academic committees and the Arab University Students Regional Committee, with cooperation from Israeli anti-discrimination figures and committees. It was attended by about 3000 Palestinians and Israelis.

Four important decisions were adopted by the conferees: the denunciation of incitement and racist practices against Arabs; a call for coexistence between Palestinians and Israelis based on equality and mutual respect; a call for the cancellation of all regulations and laws discriminating against Arabs on national grounds; and a call for official Israeli circles to adopt a policy of full equality towards the Palestinian community in Israel. The conference authorised its preparatory committee to follow up the implementation of the conference resolutions in the framework of the joint Arab-Israeli struggle.

Twenty political figures made speeches in the conference, all of which centred around the issue of the recent racist practices of Israeli extremist groups and the Israeli government. They all joined the call for full equality between Jews and Arabs in Israel.

MK Tawfiq Zayyad, mayor of Nazareth, who opened the conference, said, "The Arab population in Israel is worried because of racist incitement being launched by Israeli officials in the government and the police. The Israeli policy mainly in the Galilee is aimed at harassing the Arabs and making their life unbearable in order to force them to emigrate from their land and homeland."

Zayyad added that the Israeli authorities try to justify their racist policy on the pretext that the Arabs don't serve in the Israeli army. "The Arabs in Israel will never serve in the Israeli army which occupies Arab territories and oppresses Palestinians wherever they are. We are proud of being an integral part of the Palestinian people and we are proud of our Palestinian national identity," he said.

Rev. Shehadeh Shehadeh, the chairperson of the Committee for the Defence of the Land, said, "The Palestinians have the right to live on their land and their homeland's soil and we will fight against the laws which have stripped us of our land and rights." He remarked that the racist features of Israel are growing day-by-day in thought and practice, and the Israeli government tries to "kill the Palestinian liberation thought but it will fail as it did in the past."

"We are not weak and we don't call on the Israelis to stand beside us out of pity. We are powerful and want to live in just peace."

Abd al-Latif Habib, the representative of the regional committee of the Palestinian local councils in Israel, demanded in his speech that the Israeli authorities give full rights to the Arab local councils and to equalise them with those of the Israelis. Referring to fascism he said, "We learn from history that fascism begins with the oppression of minorities and after that its own people."

MK Haika Grossman, of the left-Zionist Mapam Party, said, "No people can succeed to build its future on the ruins of another people. Racism is also the problem of Jews. I, as a Jew, can't stand living under racism."

Eilan Ben Arin, representative of the Arab-Jewish Understanding Group of Nazareth and Upper Nazareth, said, "We don't want our town to become Johannesburg and our state South Africa."

Mordechai Ben Shaul, chairperson of the Israeli League for Civil and Human Rights, accused the Israeli government of being fully responsible for all the racist practices since the establish-

Following the recent upsurge in overt racist acts against Palestinian Arabs who are citizens of Israel, counter-action is being mobilised by some progressive Arab and Israeli groups. *Al Fajr's* Nazareth correspondent reports on the first anti-racism conference to be organised inside the 'green line', held last month at Nazareth, the Galilee.

Nazareth Hosts Landmark Anti-Racism Conference



Until recently the Jewish state has avoided the issue of Arab-Jewish coexistence by promoting separate, and therefore unequal, development by either forcibly evicting Palestinian residents from their homes or by creating new, exclusively Jewish settlements. The housing crisis, however, in Nazareth and Acre has forced Palestinians to seek accommodations in previously all-Jewish areas — and forced Israelis to take a stand on *apartheid* practices. The following poll, published in *HaAretz* (January 1, 1984), shows half of the Israeli public opposed to "mixed neighbourhoods."

More than a half of the Jewish public in Israel object to common residences of Jews and Arabs, while a third support the idea — these are the findings of a public opinion poll by PORI Institute, at the request of *HaAretz*. A representative section of the adult Jewish population was asked: "Recently, a dispute has taken place in the country relating to the subject of common residences of Jews and Arabs in the same house. What is your opinion on the matter? Are you for or against common residence?" Fifty-three percent objected, 33 percent supported it and another five percent said that the matter depended on the circumstances. For example, in which location or neighbourhood it would be, the relationship between the two peoples and the "standards" of the Arabs who are candidates for the common residence. Nine percent had no opinion.

Those against common residence were asked to explain the reasons for their objection. The main reason for objections to common residence was based on the belief that a cultural-social gap exists between Jews and Arabs which excludes common residence. Thirty-six percent replied that Jews and Arabs would clash in common residence because of the different mentality of the two peoples, and therefore it is better not to live together.

Twenty-four percent blame the Arabs for making common residence impossible because "they hate us," "they are our enemies," "we do not trust them," "they are not trustworthy," "they want to overcome us" or because "they don't recognise us." Twenty percent fear assimilation and a negative influence on children. Common residence, which will also spell common education, in their opinion, will also mean mixed marriages and will negatively influence children's education. Eleven percent said openly that they don't like Arabs and therefore are not prepared to live with them.

Five percent expressed even more extreme views by saying that Israel is a Jewish state and there is no place (in it) for Arabs and that it is better that they reside in other countries. Four percent refused to explain their reasons for objecting.

The analysis of the findings according to party affiliation shows that the biggest objection to common residence of Arabs and Jews was registered among voters of Tami, Tehiya and other religious parties. Among these groups, over 75 percent objected to common residence.

Among Likud voters the objection level reached 68 percent while Alignment voters were divided almost exactly in half: 44 percent object to and 43 percent support common residence. The poll, which took place in mid-January, involved a representative sample section of 1200 men and women, aged 18 and more, interviewed personally and in private, from all over the country.

ment of the state of Israel. In a reference to former Defence Minister Ariel Sharon, he said, "A criminal officer who carried out massacres against Palestinians is still sitting in the government."

The Israeli poet Nathan Yonatan was even stronger on this point: "What more can be said about racism which has not been said so far in the world: the blacks in America, Rhodesia, South Africa, the bombardment of villages and towns in Lebanon. What shame on us, the Jews, who suffered in the Nazi ghettos when we were the minority, to be racist against Arabs."

Dov Yermiya, an Israeli author and a former reserve general removed from his position in south Lebanon for his outspokenness, reviewed racist crimes

committed against Arabs and the racist organisations which exist in Israel. He drew attention to the organisation formed by former chief of staff Raphael Eitan which takes a public anti-Arab stance.

Rabbi Yermiah Milgram, from Jerusalem, quoted the Bible to prove that Judaism is against racism. He said, "Everyone knows the Bible prevents us from discriminating against any human being on a racist basis. But this is not always implemented." Referring to the growing racist features in Israeli society, he brought an example, saying it was difficult for a friend of his who had just been released from army reserve service to hear about the the Jewish-Arab

conference. He severely criticised recent decrees justifying racism by a number of Israeli rabbis. He singled out the chief rabbi of Acre and Rabbi Zalmanovitz from Mazkeret Batia who are against mixed Arab and Jewish apartment blocks. He remarked that such racist statements were also made against Jews during World War II. The Acre rabbi stated a month ago that the 136 Arab families living in a Jewish neighbourhood in Acre should be evicted.

MK Shulamit Aloni, who represents the Citizens Rights Movement, demanded that only citizenship should be registered on the ID cards and not nationality. She also demanded the Israeli government consider racist incitement as illegal.

A representative of the Naqab Beduin also took part in the conference and reported on their situation in the south. "Like our brothers in the north, we Beduin in the south also are subjected to vicious discriminatory policy," said Sheikh Audi Sarhan. "The Israeli government has passed special laws since 1953 to expel us and strip us of our lands. They set up special army units, called the Green Patrols, to carry out the mission by using force and brutality against us."

Mohammed Baraka, the head of the Arab University Students Association, talked about racism practised against the Arab students in Israeli universities. He reviewed the series of bloody attacks launched by the extreme-right wing organisations in dormitories and campuses over the last four years. He reminded the audience of racist statements made in recent years by Israeli officials, such as former chief of staff Eitan, who described Arabs as cockroaches, and Avigdor Ben Gal, the former commander of the northern district, who described Palestinians in Israel as a "cancer in the body of the state."

Afnan Awad, representative of Abna' al-Balad, spoke about the role of the news media in inflaming racism against Arabs. "In this way," she said, "the Israeli policy makes us recognise the Jews as the exploiting factory owner, the policeman and the interrogator."

In the course of the conference, dozens of solidarity messages from Israeli figures and Palestinian local councils and community organisations were read by the chairman, Marwan Dwir. Also the conference received greeting letters from an anti-racism committee in the US and War Resisters International.

Participants said they were satisfied with the results of the conference. One said it was the most successful conference held since the founding of the state of Israel. "The success of the conference," said Suhail Duyab, a member of the Nazareth municipal council, "will have a good effect on the relations between Arabs and Jews."

Duyab told *Al Fajr* that there was urgent need to recruit people from both sides to counter "the rapidly spreading racism against Arabs." He explained that the most dangerous phenomenon is that the domination of fascist groups in the street is met with almost complete indifference on the side of the Israeli officials.

Others echoed the same evaluation even though some were more critical of the conference. Faysal Abbas, a journalist from the Galilee, said that there was a high percentage of Jewish participants in the conference, in relation to previous meetings. He viewed this as "some Jews feeling guilty about Israeli policy towards Palestinians."

Toma Shick, a pacifist activist, said the conference could have been more successful if all parties and groups in the Arab sector were allowed to take part. "Participation," he said, "was almost monopolised by Rakah (the Israeli Communist Party) and Mapam."